

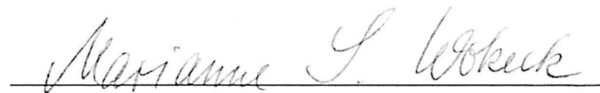
EDUCATION AND THE PERCEPTION OF EQUALITY:  
DEFINING EQUALITY THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN INDIANA AND ONTARIO, 1787-1852

M. Teresa Baer

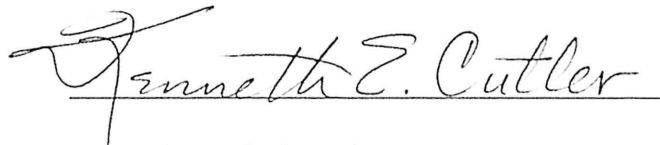
Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree  
Master of Arts  
in the Department of History  
Indiana University at Indianapolis

September 1998

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

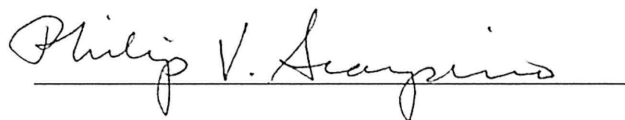
A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Marianne S. Wokeck", written over a horizontal line.

Marianne S. Wokeck, Ph.D.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Kenneth W. Cutler", written over a horizontal line.

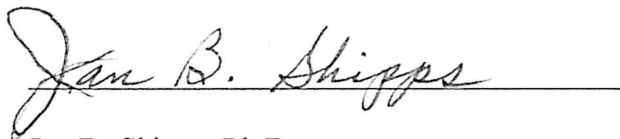
Kenneth W. Cutler, Ph.D.

Master of Arts  
Committee

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Philip V. Scarpino", written over a horizontal line.

Philip V. Scarpino, Ph.D.

June 15, 1998  
Oral Examination

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jan B. Shipps", written over a horizontal line.

Jan B. Shipps, Ph.D.



This paper is dedicated to numerous family members and friends who died during the years in which I researched and wrote this paper (1995-1998).

I love you and miss you all:

Mom (Bonnie Jeanne Du Bois) and Pop (Raymond G. Baer);  
nieces Andrea Nicole Johnson and Tina Marie Baer;  
aunts Ruth Sperling, Ferne N. Napier and Iretha P. Ahrens;  
uncle Walter E. Ahrens; and childhood friend Frona Haley Parton.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The historian's task is never complete without the assistance and insight of other scholars, archivists, librarians, and proofreaders. My research and writing of education and perceptions of equality in Indiana and Ontario is no exception. Therefore, I would like to thank several people who greatly aided my search for an understanding of the links between these subjects that are as important historically as they are today.

First, my gratitude goes to those historians who urged me to think deeply, clearly and thoroughly. Without their suggestions at key moments in this project, this paper would not be as complete or as meaningful as it is. Marianne Wokeck read and commented on each chapter as it was written, and spent many hours talking me through the main ideas in this paper. In addition, she and Jan Shipps became encouraging mentors to me--as historians, and as women who paved the field of history for me and other young women lucky enough to study under and work with them. My deepest thanks go to these scholars and to Phil Scarpino and Ken Cutler. Thanks are extended for asking difficult, but meaningful questions along the way, and for reminding me to aim for excellence. Thanks also go to them for letting me know where and when I was succeeding in my work. Their enthusiasm often relit my curiosity and devotion to this project.

I am especially grateful to Scarpino because of our discussions about Canada and Canadian history. As a fellow historian of Canada, he proved very helpful by recommending books that compared Canada and the United States, by sharing his

Canadian newspapers, and by providing beneficial tips about traveling and researching in Canada. In addition, David Bodenhamer deserves my gratitude--for suggesting the topic of education and the analysis of the 1850-51 Indiana State Constitution Convention Journals, and for helping me organize the research and writing tasks.

A very special thank-you also goes to Laurence Lampert, the philosopher who took the time to introduce me to the history of his native country, Canada. Through Lampert's eyes, I came to appreciate the rich story line behind the birth of Canada, and I learned about the many talented historians in Canada who have captured the story in books and essays. I especially appreciate the way Lampert openly shared his feelings about being a Canadian. My tale about education and equality in Upper Canada is touched with much admiration and respect for *my* northern neighbors, partly because of his honesty. Thanks go to Lampert, too, for the generous donation and loan to me of his books and maps regarding Canada.

Other Canadians tremendously aided my research efforts in this project. My warmest appreciation goes to Patricia Kennedy, archivist of the pre-confederation period in Canada. Kennedy smoothed my research in the Public Archives of Canada by streamlining for me the areas of research available in that facility, and by meeting personally with me to assist in my endeavors. Her advice proved very useful, and allowed me to organize my search in the most efficient and rewarding manner possible. Deep felt thanks also goes to the staffs of the reference and reading rooms at the archives, and to the librarians in the Public Library of Canada. Their interest, enthusiasm, and extreme courtesy accelerated the pace of my research and made it a thoroughly enjoyable and

heartwarming experience. I cannot praise the professionalism and graciousness of these people enough.

I would like to take this opportunity to extend my gratitude to Shirley McCord of the Indiana Historical Society. McCord was editor of Donald Carmony's book, *Indiana 1816-1850: The Pioneer Era*. By loaning me a working copy of several of Carmony's chapters-in-progress, including the one on education, McCord allowed me to utilize one of the few current works on educational history in Indiana that was available while I was conducting my research.

Finally, I would like to extend my deepest appreciation to the one person who helped me in every area of this project. My husband, Allen T. Baer, is a research assistant par excellence. He is like a hound dog in a research facility, and he exhibits immense patience in sorting through primary source materials in the original and on microfilm. He is also a very good proofreader, and the only one who has read version after version of the following pages. Most important, though, Allen has a keen intellect. Without his continuing analysis of my ideas and draft chapters, this paper would not possess the level of insight that I was, in the end, able to bring to this topic. Warm thanks go to him for his constancy in sharing with me the frustrations and excitement of this project.

These thanks being given, I remind the reader that any errors of thought or form in this essay belong to me alone. Any credit, on the other hand, belongs to all those mentioned here, as well.

## PREFACE

The bulk of information in this paper concerns educational history in Indiana and Ontario. Despite that fact, the purpose of the essay is to get at one of the concrete ways North Americans created definitions of the equality declared in the United States' Declaration of Independence, and realized increasingly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the unwritten, and yet manifest constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Therefore, little effort was made to rediscover or re-inform the story of how public education was instituted in Indiana and Ontario. Instead, the stories told by numerous educators and historians for the last 150 years were used to give a thoroughly detailed comparison of the origins of public education in the state and province. The wealth of information in the secondary sources and the motivation for the comparison in the current study combined to produce a lengthy explication regarding state-instituted elementary education.

Careful study of primary sources for this paper, including the 1850-51 constitutional debates regarding education in Indiana, and scores of original documents regarding education from the Canadian National Archives add support to current scholarly theses about education. The theses are commented upon somewhat in the text, but especially in the introduction and conclusion. The focus of this essay, perceptions of equality in North America, lies in its beginning and ending chapters, as well. This focus could not be explored by the author or the readers without a thorough understanding of

the history of public education. Thus, the bulk of the paper discusses education while the conclusion alone explores the meanings the creation of public education gave to the values of American and Canadian equality.

In addition, because it was necessary to understand the context in which public education was created in Indiana and Ontario, the histories of this state and province are described in Chapter 2. Secondary sources for this section are cited, but not discussed there. The geographic, political, economic and religious information in the second chapter is drawn upon throughout the rest of the paper. However, the dual subjects in this essay, education and perceptions of equality, did not allow room for an introspective look into the general histories of the early republic of the United States or the colonial period of Canada in which this paper is set. Nor did the essay's main topics leave room for an analysis of the histories of education and equality in respect to women, blacks, Native Americans or other groups that were unenfranchised during the period from 1789 until 1852. Scholarship would benefit substantially by including these groups in future discussions of both education and North American equality.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	iv
PREFACE .....	vii
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION: USING EDUCATION AS A LENS TO UNDER- STAND EQUALITY IN NORTH AMERICA DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY .....	1
2. LIFE ACROSS THE NORTH AMERICAN FRONTIER: INDIANA AND ONTARIO, 1776-1850 .....	18
Pioneer Populations, Land Pull, and Economic Strategies .....	18
Frontier Politics, Religious Persuasions, and Societal Arrangements .....	29
3. FROM IDEA TO IDEAL: PUBLIC EDUCATION IN INDIANA AND UPPER CANADA, 1787-1837 .....	42
The Growth of an Idea: Public Education on Two Frontiers, 1787-1825 ...	45
The Idea of Public Education Takes Root: Common Schools, 1824-1837 .	68
4. THE IDEAL BECOMES REALITY: THE CREATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN INDIANA AND UPPER CANADA, 1836-1852 .....	85
The Growth of Support for Public School Systems in Indiana and Upper Canada, 1836-1843 .....	88
The Establishment of Public School Systems in Indiana and Upper Canada, 1843-1852 .....	103
5. EDUCATION AND THE PERCEPTION OF EQUALITY: DEFINING EQUALITY THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN INDIANA AND ONTARIO, 1787-1852 .....	141

## Appendix

### REFERENCE GUIDE, AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIAL REGARDING EDUCATION FROM THE CANADIAN NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND THE CANADIAN NATIONAL LIBRARY ..... 165

Reference Guide ..... 165

Annotated Bibliography of Primary Sources Pertaining to Canadian  
Educational History ..... 173



## Chapter 1

Introduction: Using education as a lens to understand equality  
in North America during the first half of the nineteenth century

*So the social state of America is a very strange phenomenon. Men there are nearer equality in wealth and mental endowments, or, in other words, more nearly equally powerful, than in any other country of the world or in any other age of recorded history.*<sup>1</sup> (Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1835)

*Although the distribution of wealth after the Revolution may have been just as unequal as before the Revolution, many of the post-Revolutionary holders of wealth were new and they held their wealth on new independent terms; to them their recent, unaided acquisition, however small, was a meaningful vindication of the uniqueness and the equality of American society. It was a new and different social world that had emerged from the Revolutionary era. It was new and different because the pattern of social relationships had changed, and had changed radically--as radically and as rapidly as any in modern Western history.... There is no denying there has never been any culture or society quite like it in the history of the world.*<sup>2</sup> (Gordon Wood, "Social Radicalism and Equality in the American Revolution," 1976)

Equality and freedom are two of the most fundamental attributes of the United States. People have commented upon these characteristics since the American Revolution. Scholars have studied U.S. ideas about liberty and egalitarianism for over two-hundred years, but they have yet to come to any consensus about how free and equal

---

<sup>1</sup> Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, One, translator George Lawrence, ed. J. P. Mayer (New York, 1988), 50.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon S. Wood, "Social Radicalism and Equality in the American Revolution," *Social Radicalism and the Idea of Equality in the American Revolution*, (Houston, 1976), 14.

America is or has been in any of its past eras. As De Tocqueville and Wood point out, part of the interest undoubtedly arises from the uniqueness of American society when it is compared to human societies past and present. For scholars of America the curiosity goes much deeper: to understand the meaning of American freedom and equality is to get at the heart of what motivates Americans to think and act in certain ways. Indeed, for the scholar, freedom and equality drive much of the history of the United States.

Analyzing freedom and equality in American society can be quite a challenge, too. Intangible, these terms exist only in patterns. One can never point with any accuracy and say "That is freedom" or "Here is equality." In order to acquire substance, the scholar must look at such terms separately. For example, circumstances of equality among or between people are relative. People in a society define equality through their rhetoric and through the ways they treat each other or relate one to another. Thus, equality means different things to people at different places, or in different times. Equality means different things to the same people at different times in their lives, too. So, when discussing equality, one is really discussing patterns that exist among people that define and manifest instances of equality. These instances define the term in any given society during any particular era.

Patterns of equality emerge from many facets of human life. Students of America have studied several of the major facets in order to determine what Americans mean by equality. Wood and others have examined the political sphere and discovered that nearly all white males could vote and hold most public offices in America by the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Politically then, there was equality among many white men during the early national period. Conversely, scholars such as anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace have studied the economic realm of early American life and found gross wealth disparities

---

<sup>3</sup> See for instance, Gordon S. Wood, "Equality and Social Conflict in the American Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 51 (Oct. 1994), 707 and 711.

growing between groups of Americans as capitalism and industry developed in the early United States.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, economic equality did not exist during the American ante-bellum period.

In contrast, historians of religion in the United States find perceived spiritual equality among groups of white Americans during the opening decades of the nineteenth century. In fact, Nathan Hatch and several of his colleagues report that a great religious revival known as the Second Great Awakening spread the American belief in basic human equality via itinerant Protestant preachers who taught fervently that all people are equal in the eyes of God.<sup>5</sup> Notwithstanding this bold assertion, social historians such as Joyce Appleby deny the description of early American society as egalitarian by reminding scholars of the ongoing struggle for equality by three large, disenfranchised groups within America, working-class men, women and blacks.<sup>6</sup> Appleby might have included Native Americans in this list, too.

As this short survey reveals, modern scholarship draws a confusing picture of equality in the early United States. At the same time, the confusion fuels debates among scholars regarding the truest interpretation of American history. Most recently Wood has sparked controversy with his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*, in which he argues that the revolutionary rhetoric of equality shattered the colonial climate of hierarchy and deference and signaled the demise of patriarchy by the early nineteenth century, engendering fundamental and unparalleled changes in American society. Virulent criticism of Wood centers upon the conviction that Wood's thesis is wrong; that is, in basic terms, Americans were *not* equal by the early nineteenth century. But, even his most outstanding detractors openly admire Wood for

---

<sup>4</sup> Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1978).

<sup>5</sup> Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, 1989).

<sup>6</sup> Joyce Appleby, "The Radical Recreation of the American Republic," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 51 (Oct. 1994), 682-83.

the many useful insights he depicts in his book, and for the vivid pictures of life in the early U.S. that he draws.<sup>7</sup>

Concurrent academic accolades, bitter refutations and back-handed compliments for one book written by an historian who has spent a career thinking about equality in the early American republic only add to the confusion about the nature of American equality. In truth, Wood's research substantially supports the insight that many white male Americans actually experienced increasing attributes of equality in their social relations after the revolutionary war, and that white male Americans perceived themselves to be more equal to each other in the 1830s than their immediate predecessors had in the 1760s. This realization leads readers to wonder about the other groups of Americans who were not white or male or Americanized enough to share in the perceived opening or leveling of the traditional social strata. Thus, in order to make sense of the historical picture as it develops, scholars must accept the idea that different groups in early American society competed to give meaning to vital concepts like equality. Individuals thinking about equality could believe contradictory things about the nature of the term depending on

---

<sup>7</sup> There are several reviews of Wood's book in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 51 (Oct. 1994), 677-716, including Appleby's and: Michael McGiffert, "How Revolutionary was the Revolution?"; Barbara Clark Smith, "The Adequate Revolution"; and Michael Zuckerman, "Rhetoric, Reality, and the Revolution: The Genteel Radicalism of Gordon Wood." For other review articles regarding Wood's monograph, see: H. G. Pitt, *The English Historical Review*, 109 (Apr. 1994), 390-93; Robert M. Weir, *Journal of Southern History*, 60 (Feb. 1994), 119-21; Richard R. Johnson, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 24 (Winter 1994), 556-57; Robert M. Bliss, *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 78 (Oct. 1993), 452-54; Peter Marshall, *Journal of American Studies*, 27 (Aug. 1993), 289-90; Frank Shuffelton, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 26 (Summer 1993), 687; Drew R. McCoy, *Journal of American History*, 79 (Mar. 1993), 1563-64; Alan Taylor, *The Historical Journal*, 35 (Dec. 1992), 937-44; Colin Bonwick, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 49 (Oct. 1992), 725-27; Philip F. Gura, *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, 68 (Aug. 1992), 790-94; E. Cassara, *CHOICE*, 30 (Sept. 1992), 210; Edmund S. Morgan, *The New York Review of Books*, 39 (June 25, 1992), 23-25; *The Wilson Quarterly*, 16 (Summer 1992), 116-17; Maurice Cranston, *The American Spectator*, 25 (Apr. 1992), 68-70; Pauline Maier, *The New York Times Book Review* (Mar. 1, 1992), 1; and David B. Mattern, *Library Journal*, 117 (Jan. 1992), 154.

whether they were thinking about equality and God, about equality and financial status, or equality and politics. Accepting the idea that early American history is complex frees scholars to change the questions they ask to more fully capture the varied glimpses of the past revealed by the different lenses of scholarship. Then, instead of asking how much equality Americans enjoyed after the Revolution, historians might ask what information could be gleaned about the nature of equality by looking at various aspects of American society during different time periods.

This is the direction in which scholarship has been moving for the past thirty years or so. So that they may broaden and deepen the understanding of issues such as equality, scholars are choosing new lenses through which to explore historical questions. Historians are examining details about the lives of the first generations of Americans through studies that focus particularly on gender, family, law, religion, material culture, labor, medicine, and so on. By changing the nature of the questions, historians may realize that the answers filtering in from divergent angles serve as vital pieces of one huge puzzle. Different interpretations are not judged as totally right or wrong; they modify, clarify, and bring deeper hues to an emerging portrait--in this case, about American equality.

This essay contributes to the discussion about perceptions of equality by analyzing the ways in which the idea of equality was involved as Americans moved to create common elementary school systems. Besides providing an original lens through which to examine the issue of equality, the establishment of public educational institutions provides additional insight for two reasons. First, as Bernard Bailyn emphasized nearly forty years ago, the origins of public education "are part of a complex story, involving changes in the role of state as well as in the general institutional character of society."<sup>8</sup> Indeed, western thoughts about education and equality developed together each influencing the other. Moreover, as western societies began to concretely manifest these thoughts into political

---

<sup>8</sup> Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society* (New York, 1960), 11.

and social institutions, they linked the concepts of education and equality in significant ways.

Following French education theory of the eighteenth century, which held that education should be egalitarian, Thomas Jefferson stated that universal education was necessary for the establishment and maintenance of a republican government such as was developing in the United States after the Revolution.<sup>9</sup> Equality entered Jefferson's philosophy about education in two ways. First he held that all citizens should receive equal opportunity for education at the primary level, and that those with superior intellectual faculties should receive equal opportunities to achieve higher education regardless of class or wealth. Equal access to education at all levels would ensure that those with natural intelligence and foresight would be trained and ready to lead the nation. Second, Jefferson asserted that all citizens must obtain the knowledge necessary to safeguard the rights of individuals against the otherwise inevitable tyranny of government. So, all Americans should receive an equal basic education because all Americans shared an equal responsibility to safeguard the interests of their republic.<sup>10</sup>

Jefferson used his beliefs about equality, education and republican government to support the establishment of public educational systems by incorporating them into legislative proposals for schools in his home state of Virginia between 1776 and 1817. Other Americans of the post-revolutionary period linked equality and education in order to promote the creation of schools, too. For instance, in 1791 Robert Coram, a librarian and newspaper editor in Delaware, published a "Plan for the General Establishment of Schools throughout the United States."<sup>11</sup> In it he reiterated the fundamental American belief that

---

<sup>9</sup> Charles Flinn Arrowood, "Jefferson's Theory of Education," *Thomas Jefferson and Education in a Republic* (New York, 1930), 49-50.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on Virginia," in Arrowood, 82-87.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Coram, "Political Inquiries: to which Is Added, a Plan for the General Establishment of Schools Throughout the United States," in *Essays on Education in the Early Republic*, ed. Frederick Rudolph (Cambridge, MA, 1965), 79.

all men are created equal and asserted that, therefore, "the mode of education should be equal also."<sup>12</sup> Coram's evidence for this assertion echoes Jefferson's ideas about equal education and good government.

*An equal representation is absolutely necessary to the preservation of liberty. But there can never be an equal representation until there is an equal mode of education for all citizens. For although a rich farmer may, by the credit of his possessions, help himself into the legislature, yet if through a deficiency in his education he is unable to speak with propriety, he may see the dearest interest of his country basely bartered away and be unable to make any effort except his single vote against it. Education, therefore, to be generally useful should be brought home to every man's door.*<sup>13</sup>

The second reason the establishment of public schools is a valuable lens through which to view Americans as they defined equality is its power to combine particular views from the multiple spheres of politics, economics, religion and society. Politics was necessarily involved in the creation of public school systems because it was in the political arena that Americans debated whether or not to have schools and how a school system should function. The economy was closely linked to politics because people debated how to pay for public schools. Religion played an important role because many of the first non-public schools were started and managed by churches. Also, Americans from different religious backgrounds were deeply concerned about the purposes of schools, and participated vociferously in the public discussions regarding public education. Social issues intersected often with the establishment of a public education system. One important gender issue was whether to teach girls as well as boys, and whether to teach them the same subjects or to use the same methods to teach them. Another gender issue was whether or not to hire or train female teachers, and how much to pay them in relation to their male counterparts. Social issues also came into play in discussions about the role

---

<sup>12</sup> Coram, 135-36.

<sup>13</sup> Coram, 135-36.



of education in providing equal opportunity for jobs, salary, property, and social status. Social considerations also affected the debate as people tried to decide how, or even why to pay for schooling for the poor, or whether rich children should receive more extensive educations than less wealthy children. As a lens then, the creation of the public schools provides an original focus set within the more traditional windows on equality.

Using the lens of education, the question thus becomes: "What can researching the establishment of common elementary schooling in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century tell us about how Americans defined the concept of equality in their society?" In addition, this essay seeks to sharpen the underlying question by comparing how ideas about equality were involved in the establishment of public school systems in the United States and British, but not, French, Canada. Just as using education as a lens to view equality proves a valuable tool, U. S. and British Canadian educational and intellectual histories provide compelling reasons to add the comparison of the two nations to this essay. First and foremost, post-Revolutionary Americans and British Canadians shared background and history. As political scientist and sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset remarks, "The two nations [the U. S. and Canada] once part of British North America were separated by the outcome of the American Revolution."<sup>14</sup> This means that both nations experienced comparable circumstances of development in the many realms of human life, and that both nations shared a particular set of evolving thoughts about equality and education.

On both sides of the national boundaries across North America, people could look back to the English Civil War of the mid-seventeenth century for an early modern discussion about the meaning of equality in British lands. During the civil unrest in England, a three-day meeting was held near the town of Putney from October 28 to

---

<sup>14</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada*, (New York, 1990), xiii.



November 1, 1647, in order to decide which of the British subjects should possess the rights of suffrage. Two radical strands of thought about equality from separate segments of society clashed in this formal argument called "The Putney Debates." The first strand came from religious sects that had been forming in Europe since the Reformation. Many of these sects held as doctrine that all men and women are equal before the eyes of God. This tenet was spreading among the groups in society that held less wealth, property and social status than the nobility, gentry and the growing class of wealthy merchants. At the same time, aristocrats and merchants who were represented in Parliament entered an old debate about the basis of monarchical authority--did it derive from God, or did it derive from those the sovereigns governed? Trying to find legal recourse to new and extensive taxes demanded by King Charles I, Parliament gave its weight to the theory that the king governed by the consent of the people. "The people" in this view consisted of those who were represented in Parliament by virtue of the interest in governance they shared because they were propertyholders, and thus, taxpayers.

Some of the more politically-motivated and outspoken common folk borrowed the religious sects' theory about equality in society and decided that since all people were equal before God then "the people" in the consent theory of Parliament meant all people. They fought to extend suffrage to every man over the age of twenty-one, save beggars and servants who might vote according to their masters' wishes. The powerful landholders and rich merchants in the group sought to protect their property, money and status in society. They wanted to retain the traditional property-holding qualifications for representation. The debates were interrupted before the issue was resolved. By the end of the Civil War, the policy that prevailed favored property and wealth. But although the debates did not ultimately decide the suffrage issue, they sharply focused and legitimized arguments about equality, adding fuel to heated conversations in drawing rooms and

taverns for nearly two centuries--long after most people remembered the debates at Putney.<sup>15</sup>

The issues of taxation of property and wealth and political representation overlapped again during the days of the American Revolution. Revolutionaries declared human equality as the basis for the independence of a new nation and for the rights of individuals in relation to the state. At the time of the Declaration of Independence, however, Americans did not pause to consider the meaning of equality--who was to be equal and upon what bases. Patriots fought for unspecified goals regarding freedom and equality; and Tories, or Loyalists as Canadians term them, defended the traditional hierarchical British mores regarding politics and society. But whereas in the English Civil War, the propertyless and poorer segments of society gained little, many sections of American society received unprecedented change for their efforts. Loyalists were driven North to the lands in Canada still held by the British Crown. Americans began the task of defining the terms upon which they had severed their colonial ties.

From 1776 on, people associated freedom and equality with the United States, but no one, especially not the Americans themselves, agreed as to what these terms meant. Nevertheless, British Canadians began immediately to define themselves as a national group by vehemently exclaiming that they did not believe in the freedom and equality of the Americans. Rather, they defended the ideas of democracy stemming from the British constitutional monarchy system. On both sides of the North American border, the definitive terms of the revolution began to be manifested by political legislation, by the rhetoric of religion and the press, by the ideals parents and teachers passed on to children, and by the ways people related to each other: wealthy to poor, educated to uneducated, professionals to lay persons, men to women, whites to blacks, and so forth.

---

<sup>15</sup> For an excellent analysis of the rhetorical logic in the Putney Debates, see Jeff D. Bass, "'Levellers': The Economic Reduction of Political Equality in the Putney Debates, 1647," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, v77, n4 (Nov. 1991), 427-445.

Americans and British Canadians shared the same past, the same intense feelings for ideas like equality that lay at the foundations of their societies, and the same choices with regard to defining equality. Comparing the patterns they created to give meaning to one of the terms that was singularly important to them both sheds light upon each society. It is the same type of insight that comes from a study of two siblings who grew up in the same family, but chose separate philosophies by which to live their lives. Comparing them points to subtle differences in the character and thinking of each that would go unnoticed if the focus were only on one. As Lipset explains, "it is precisely because the two North American democracies have so much in common that they permit students of each to gain insights into the factors that cause variations."<sup>16</sup>

Comparing the United States and British Canada as they created school systems is also appropriate and useful because the two countries experienced similar developments even after the American Revolution separated them. Europeans immigrated to both North American countries swelling the ranks of westward-pushing settlers. The promise of land and opportunity drew immigrants into the region that became Ontario as well as into the old American Northwest. North and south of the Great Lakes people cleared land, created farms and participated in the building of new nations. As the nineteenth century progressed, Americans and Canadians both encountered a developing capitalist economic system. New banking and financial institutions, the beginnings of industrialization and urbanization, and the start of transportation and communication revolutions challenged all North Americans. Meanwhile, the great Protestant religious revival, the Second Great Awakening, offered them a new way of looking at themselves--as equals. But the new spiritual outlook also provoked controversy during this time of political, economic and social restructuring. The religious controversies fueled debates about social rankings and relationships between groups of people who had traditionally stood in graded stations

---

<sup>16</sup> Lipset, xvii.

deferring to those above and leading those below. In short, the world and the way people perceived the world was changing rapidly in North America. Whether in British Canada or the U. S. people who sought to create school systems did so amidst environments fraught with uncertainties that they themselves were responsible for resolving. In the process of responding to these challenges, British Canadians and Americans provided meanings for the values that lay at the hearts of their societies, foremost among them equality.<sup>17</sup>

One of the ways in which North Americans sought to meet the challenges of a new era was to create educational systems that could disseminate the knowledge and moral values necessary to harness the forces of change. Since most people who moved west purchased or received land, they became property-holders. Property-holders were eligible to vote on both sides of the border, which meant that a large proportion of the men in North America became new voters. Some political leaders believed that since most people had never before enjoyed the rights of suffrage, they and their sons who would grow up to become landowners and voters, too, needed to understand the government institutions under which they lived. Women and girls also needed to acquire this knowledge because they would grow up to raise the sons who required this understanding. In addition, changes in the economy motivated many British Canadians and Americans who were unable or unwilling to purchase land to learn the information and skills necessary to obtain jobs in the new growing market. Also, many farmers and ranchers wanted to use education in their quest to earn profits through commercial farming. At the same time, Protestant evangelicals forcefully insisted that all believers should know how to read in

---

<sup>17</sup> In the U. S., Lipset offers one of the few comparisons of the U. S. and Canada. But in the genre of comparative scholarly works, it is surely among the best. In Canada, on the other hand, scholars often include research into America in their examinations of Canada. One old but very useful monograph for this study which compares U. S. and Canadian history after the American Revolution is Fred Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier* (Toronto, 1941).

order to study and interpret the Bible for themselves. The traditional network of education, which included families, apprenticeships, tutors, churches and other private schools, was changing along with the rest of the western world. It could not readily accommodate the new learning requirements.

In their struggles to create the types of educational systems that would meet the needs of their changing societies, British Canadians and Americans of different states employed the same models. Both researched existing school systems in Europe and in the original thirteen American states, especially that in New York state. Corresponding groups from each country used similar arguments to explore the advantages and disadvantages of public as opposed to private education, and also while debating the specific details of how to create public schools.<sup>18</sup> These arguments illuminate how North Americans were defining equality in their respective societies. Therefore, this essay will use the comparison between the English-speaking North American countries to establish the nature of equality in the context of public elementary schooling.

In particular, in order to provide the in-depth look most conducive to clear perceptions of intangibles like equality, the focus of the paper will be on the incorporation of common elementary schools in Indiana and Ontario. The terms common elementary schools, public schools and public education will be confined here to the definition of "common school" framed by educator Carl Kaestle in his ground-breaking book, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860*:

---

<sup>18</sup> Probably the best study of the ways that the establishment of American educational systems intersected with the formation of the U. S. and its new institutions is Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York, 1983). Many of the points that Kaestle makes here are echoed in Canadian literature which tends to draw heavily upon U. S. as well as Canadian sources. For a quick review of recent Canadian historiography regarding education and society, see J. Donald Wilson, "Some Observations on Recent Trends in Canadian Educational History," in *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History*, ed. J. Donald Wilson (Vancouver, 1984), 7-29.

*By "common school" I mean an elementary school intended to serve all the children in an area. An expensive independent school, obviously, would not be a "common school," but neither would a charity school open only to the poor.... "Common school" was not synonymous with "free school." In both the North and the South, [of the U. S.] even after the creation of state common-school systems, parents were often required to pay part of the cost of their child's instruction in common schools.<sup>19</sup>*

Indiana and Ontario offer good examples of how regions within their respective countries dealt with the issues of equality and education. Both areas shared pioneer experiences, and they passed laws about common schools at the same stages in their early histories. Indiana originated as part of the Old Northwest Territory of the U. S., which comprised what became Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and part of Minnesota. It was settled by Americans and West Europeans during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Ontario, or the region called Upper Canada after the American Revolution, was settled by British Loyalists, Americans and West European immigrants at the same time as Indiana. Few French-speaking Quebecois ever migrated to this British-American stronghold. Both Indiana, which became a state in 1816, and Upper Canada, or Canada West as it was known from 1841 to 1871, were frontier territories during the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Situated on the western edges of their countries, both experienced comparable waves of economic, religious and social developments. The second chapter of this paper describes these movements, and sets them within the different geographic environments in which they occurred.

The third and fourth chapters relate the story of how school systems came to be created in Indiana and Upper Canada. Here the focus is on the rhetoric of public school promoters, and the legislation regarding schools enacted in each area. Critical for this study is the fact that Indiana and Upper Canada developed the impetus and the political arguments for public systems of education in parallel fashion. Politicians from each region

---

<sup>19</sup> Kaestle, xi-xii.

passed major legislation regarding education at the same points in their histories--in 1816 and in 1850-52. The mid-century legislation of both regions served as blueprints for their public school systems for the next 150 years.

The fifth and concluding chapter begins with the perceived maxim that public schools provide equality of opportunity. It then analyzes the arguments public school advocates used to persuade their countrymen that public education was necessary. In doing so, it links the findings of this essay to those of scholars of the educational history of Indiana and Ontario. It addresses a full-range of educators and historians, including nineteenth and early twentieth century traditionalists like Richard Boone in Indiana and Fred Landon in Ontario. Historians during this period often sought to defend or explain the births and values of their young countries. As a late nineteenth century Indiana educator, Boone editorialized constantly in his book, attempting to show the virtues of his state's public educational system on the one hand; and criticizing early state residents who had disagreed with the creation of the education system on the other. Landon, a librarian and historian from Ontario, was interested primarily in justifying his province's, and in effect, Canada's history while at the same time describing the phenomenon of a nearly parallel American history that he observed across the national boundary so close at hand.

Bailyn's call to contextualize North American educational history, and the mid- to late-twentieth century historians who accepted this challenge are discussed in this chapter, too. Bailyn, a giant in historical circles who has written prolifically about American immigrants and the history of New England, set out to ascertain the historiography of public education's beginnings during the late 1950s and early 1960s. His research led him to call for historians to set educational history within the environment of broader American and Canadian histories. In Ontario, social historians such as American Michael Katz heard Bailyn's call. Working within the framework of the 1960s' and early 1970s' social and political revolutions, Katz and his students, such as Susan E. Houston and Alison L. Prentice, rewrote Ontario's educational history. They wove a rich texture of



economic, family and biographical particulars into the early educational landscape with a view to radically revising the known story. In the 1980s and 1990s, Bruce Curtis followed unremittingly the revisionist path they had forged, boldly asserting that public education was a tool invented by economic and political elites to control the masses.

By the end of the 1970s, most education historians began to tread a more moderate path. In the United States, Kaestle answered Bailyn's invitation by embedding American educational history within the growing tapestry of political, economic and religious history Americanists were creating. He brought forth intimate anecdotes and singular artifacts and used them to show how people in the different regions of the U.S. fabricated and reacted to the advent of public schools. Moderates in Ontario who have been deepening and broadening the province's nineteenth century educational history include Donald Wilson and Robert Gidney. In the last ten years, historians have begun to examine the history of education in Indiana in light of the findings of scholars, such as Kaestle, who have written broad American educational histories, and the historians in Ontario who have dug deeply into the provincial record, keeping general Canadian, British and American educational histories in mind all the while. Two historians of Indiana's education history who are important to the present essay are William J. Reese and Scott Walter. They are among the first scholars to consider the story of the formation of public education in Indiana as part of the larger story of how and why North Americans instituted schools.

Relating the findings of this paper to the interpretations of these earlier and contemporary scholars illuminates the development of intellectual thought about public schools, and points to interesting areas for further research. However, the most significant insights in the conclusion come from examining the very parallel results of the British Canadian and American drives to create common elementary systems. Indeed, by examining the nearly identical processes of creating public schools, similar British Canadian and American perspectives on equality shine through while exposing subtle



variations in the political, economic, religious and social thinking of the two peoples. In the process, the unique values that North Americans share stand out with greater clarity.

## Chapter 2

### Life Across the North American Frontier: Indiana and Ontario, 1776-1850

*Upper Canada on the eve of the War of 1812 was described by Michael Smith, an American, who had been resident in the province for some years as a schoolmaster and Baptist preacher.... The tens of thousands who were turning their backs upon the older states and moving westward seemed almost unconscious of international boundaries, and change of allegiance from republic to monarchy, or from monarchy to republic, was made with apparent unconcern.... For the most part they were less interested in the form of government under which they lived than in the regulations with regard to land. It mattered little to them whether their Governor was Peter Hunter or Arthur St. Clair, whether there was an Assembly or a trio of judges, whether the basis of government was the Northwest Ordinance of Congress or the Canada Act of the imperial Parliament. The really important question before them was the possibility of bettering their condition.... They were not as a group republicans, they were merely thorough-going democrats, differing in no respect from the people who in the same period were taking up land and forming new communities in the region of the Ohio River.<sup>20</sup> (Fred Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier*, 1941)*

#### Pioneer Populations, Land Pull, and Economic Strategies

In the "Foreword" to his book, *Frontier Indiana*, American historian Andrew Cayton describes the early American West as an area that ran from "the crest of the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi River, from the border with Canada to the Gulf of Mexico."<sup>21</sup> Cayton states that this was the frontier until the 1840s and 1850s when settlers started pouring across the great Mississippi divide moving relentlessly westward throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. Canadian historians point out that

---

<sup>20</sup> Fred Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier* (Toronto, 1941), 21-22.

<sup>21</sup> Andrew R. L. Cayton, *Frontier Indiana* (Bloomington, 1996), ix.

settlement across the early frontier included the region north of the Canadian boundary into the area known from 1791 to 1841 as Upper Canada (Ontario). Landon delineates this region as "the area between the Ottawa River and Lake Huron, northward from the St. Lawrence River and Lakes Ontario and Erie."<sup>22</sup>

The earliest settlers in the American Northwest Territory traveled from the Upland South. The first group moved from Kentucky, North Carolina and Tennessee to the Ohio River valley from Ohio to Indiana and Illinois country. Many of these had initially settled in the hinterlands of Cincinnati where they first came into contact with immigrants from the mid-Atlantic states, especially Pennsylvanians. Substantial numbers from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia also came and settled mainly in the north-central regions of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.<sup>23</sup> The populating of the South and central part of the territory was followed by the late migration of New Englanders to northern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois and into Michigan and Wisconsin.<sup>24</sup>

Upper Canada experienced similar migratory patterns before 1812. The first settlers west of Lower Canada (Quebec) were the British Loyalists of the revolutionary period. Canadian historian Arthur Lower states that most of these possessed German, rather than British lineage, and that they came mainly from New York with lesser numbers from Pennsylvania.<sup>25</sup> Most Loyalists settled along the upper St. Lawrence River to the shores of Lake Ontario at Kingston. A relatively small amount of them also moved into

---

<sup>22</sup> Landon, 2.

<sup>23</sup> James M. Bergquist, "Tracing the Origins of a Midwestern Culture: The Case of Central Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXXVII (March 1981), 9-26; Andrew R. L. Cayton and Peter S. Onuf, *The Midwest and the Nation: Rethinking the History of an American Region* (Bloomington, 1990), 27.

<sup>24</sup> Bergquist, 24-26; Cayton and Onuf, 27; Gregory S. Rose, "Hoosier Origins: The Nativity of Indiana's United States-Born Population in 1850," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXXXI (Sept. 1985), 225-26. Rose states that Vermont provided the majority of the immigrants from New England to Indiana; Pennsylvania the majority of the middle states; and Kentucky, the southern, with Virginia a close second.

<sup>25</sup> Arthur R. M. Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada* (Toronto, 1946), 117.

the area around Niagara. Between 1790 and 1812, however, the majority of new arrivals were simply American pioneers moving westward who crossed the St. Lawrence River "rather than going on round south of the [Great] Lakes."<sup>26</sup> Canadian historian Randall White estimates that "by about 1810 the frontier pioneers of the 1790s and the early 1800s outnumbered the Loyalists of the 1780s and the few British immigrants to the province by as much as four to one."<sup>27</sup> Post-Loyalist migrants settled the northern coastal areas of Lakes Ontario and Erie from Kingston to York, the town that was later renamed Toronto. The first to move inland from the waterways were groups of German-American Mennonites and Quakers from Pennsylvania. They pushed north into the wilderness to establish communities in the south central portion of the province between Niagara and York.<sup>28</sup>

The earliest settlers to both Indiana Territory and Upper Canada, then, originated in the fledgling United States. Place of origin constituted the major difference between the pioneers to these frontier regions. Most American immigrants to Indiana lived first in either the mid-Atlantic states or in the Upland South; whereas most of the initial waves of immigrants to Upper Canada came from the mid-Atlantic states or New England. Despite differences in place of origin, however, most American settlers to both Indiana and Upper Canada traveled west due to the pull of cheap land. Under the provisions of the Land Act of 1800, the U. S. sold land for as little as two dollars an acre in Indiana with a minimum purchase of between 160 acres (1804) to forty acres (1832).<sup>29</sup> The first, British-appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe, competed with the United States for settlers by offering a grant of "at least 200 acres of land, subject only

---

<sup>26</sup> Lower, 160. (Note: Unless stated otherwise, I will insert words or phrases inside brackets to clarify quoted information which might otherwise be ambiguous or confusing.)

<sup>27</sup> Randall White, *Ontario, 1610-1985: A Political and Economic History* (Toronto, 1985), 69-70.

<sup>28</sup> Lower, 160.

<sup>29</sup> Cayton, 264-5.

to modest registration fees, settlement duties, and an oath of loyalty to the [British] king."<sup>30</sup>

Indiana as most of the Old Northwest attracted immigrants because of its abundance of farmland over the northern two-thirds of its territory. During the last ice age, glaciers spread deposits of clay, sand, and gravel upon which deep and fertile soils developed. Glaciation stopped short of the southern third of the state, though, leaving intact ancient, rugged hills. Melting, the glaciers traced numerous navigable streams throughout southern Indiana. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, these waterways proved valuable to haul the rich deposits of limestone and coal found in southern Indiana, as well as timber and farm products from all over the state.<sup>31</sup>

The glaciers that covered two-thirds of Indiana with rich earth began their journey in north central Canada. They flattened prehistoric mountains and stripped the topsoil "in a mighty arc about Hudson Bay, extending from the Atlantic edge of Quebec and Labrador across northern Ontario and northern Manitoba into the Northwest Territories [of Canada]," reaching to the Arctic Ocean.<sup>32</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century, this area, known as the Canadian Shield, contained vast evergreen forests, countless navigable lakes and streams and areas of badlands consisting of rock, scrub and marshland. French-Canadians and Native Canadians found the Shield invaluable as a resource for fur-bearing animals. But pioneer settlers sought farmland south of the Shield where the glaciers made their first deposits of fertile soil.

Indeed, as long as property was available along the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River, land in Upper Canada could compete nicely with the productive ground in Indiana

---

<sup>30</sup> White, 69.

<sup>31</sup> Ellen Sieber and Cheryl Ann Munson, *Looking at History: Indiana's Hoosier National Forest Region, 1600-1950* (Bloomington, 1992), 11-12.

<sup>32</sup> J. M. S. Careless, *Canada: A Story of Challenge* (Toronto, 1965), 14.

and throughout the American Northwest Territory. Lower offers a vivid detailing of the topography of Upper Canada:

In the new province there were several fairly distinct regions, such as the St. Lawrence, the lower and upper lakes and the interior. The St. Lawrence section was broken into three by a band of pre-Cambrian rock about fifty miles wide which crossed the river into New York State, forming the 'Thousand Islands.' Below this point lay a district of good soil and good rainfall, destined to become a fine dairy region. In the pre-Cambrian band, the hard granite ridges rendered settlement somewhat unattractive. From Kingston, where it ended, to what is now Belleville a thin layer of soil lying over flat limestone beds made farming dependent upon rainfall. Beyond that the soil gradually deepened and good country was continuous to the south-western tip of the peninsula. From Lake Ontario south-westward, new species of trees were encountered, winters were mild and the environment genial. The great bodies of water on three sides moderated summer heat and winter cold: in some districts southern fruits like the peach and the grape grew well. The neck of land between Lakes Erie and Ontario, the Niagara peninsula, was particularly favoured by nature and also best known.<sup>33</sup>

Although ample quantities of land continued to beckon settlers to both Indiana and Upper Canada in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, immigrant populations changed in both areas. In Indiana, an enormous influx of foreign immigrants, chief among them, Germans and Irish, added to the tide of American-born settlers.<sup>34</sup> By 1850, the population had grown to over 990 thousand.<sup>35</sup> In Upper Canada, government officials halted the incoming flow of Americans for a short time after the War of 1812. American-Canadians had proved neutral or actively disloyal during the War between the United States and Great Britain. Therefore, the Upper Canadian government instituted new immigration policies that produced two effects. At first, immigrant numbers decreased

---

<sup>33</sup> Lower, 158-59.

<sup>34</sup> *The Older Middle West, 1840-1880: Its Social, Economic and Political Life and Sectional Tendencies Before, During and After the Civil War* (The American Historical Assoc., New York, 1963), 91-92.

<sup>35</sup> Logan Esarey, *A History of Indiana from Its Exploration to 1850* (Indianapolis, 1970), 606.

sharply. But the number of settlers increased slowly as officials recruited large numbers of Europeans, especially from Ireland, Scotland and Germany.<sup>36</sup> As tensions between the U.S. and Great Britain eased, American and Canadian tensions eased slightly, too. Then, Americans were once again allowed to migrate to Upper Canada, but the welcome was never again as warm, and the numbers of Americans who moved north of the Great Lakes was never again as large.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, in 1853, one million people lived in Upper Canada.<sup>38</sup>

Thus, although Americans, Germans and Irish peopled much of both Indiana and Upper Canada, the populations grew different from one another. In Indiana, as throughout the U. S., immigrants were surrounded by overwhelming numbers of native-born Americans. Over time, they became "Americanized." In the colony of Upper Canada, Irish, Scots and German natives constituted portions of the populations comparable to the native-born portion. Foreign-born residents more easily retained their traditional ways of life; and foreign and American cultures co-existed for longer periods, each influencing, but not subsuming the other.<sup>39</sup>

Whether settlers arrived from Europe or America, most of them planned to farm. Upland Southerners who journeyed to Indiana possessed a tradition of "self-sufficient agriculture that had characterized the isolated communities of the Appalachian plateau."<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Paul G. Cornell, Jean Hamelin, Fernand Ouellet and Marcel Trudel, *Canada: Unity in Diversity* (Toronto, 1967), 193.

<sup>37</sup> Landon, 47-48.

<sup>38</sup> Lower, 181. (Between 1841 and 1867, the area formerly known as Upper Canada was called Canada West.)

<sup>39</sup> J. M. S. Careless, *Canada: A Story of Challenge* (Toronto, 1965) 149-50. On p. 184, Lower states that many foreign-born immigrant families retain their distinctive traits to this day (1946). (Perhaps the divergence in immigration patterns accounts for the oft-repeated observation by Ontarians that in the U. S., immigrants become Americans first and claim their foreign heritages only secondarily; whereas in Canada, immigrants retain their native heritage first and are Canadians second.)

<sup>40</sup> Bergquist, 24.

People from the mid-Atlantic states and from Europe diversified their occupations. Most of them farmed, but significant numbers of them employed themselves also as merchants or small businessmen. By mid-century, members of all immigrant groups participated in the development of commercial agriculture. In this manner, the mainstay of Indiana's economy became the production of corn and swine.<sup>41</sup> Rudimentary industry grew out of Indiana's agricultural economy. Gristmills and liquor distilleries processed the state's corn. Meat-packing plants sprang up along the Ohio and Wabash Rivers, which provided quick shipment for perishable items. In addition, the initial hardwood forest coverage over most of the state supplied raw material for sawmills, furniture-makers, and carriage, wagon and ship builders.<sup>42</sup>

Farm production became a major component of the Upper Canadian economy, too. Loyalists who arrived before the end of the eighteenth century brought both agricultural and business skills to the province. Settling just west of Quebec, many of them established themselves as merchants in the fur trade and in the timber industry. They were joined in these activities by some American immigrants, but more of the American and foreign-born settlers took up farming. By mid-century, the fur trade had diminished and Upper Canadians produced three staples: wood, wheat and dairy products.<sup>43</sup> Surpluses of two of these staples fueled the development of busy commercial centers along the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Seaway as Upper Canadian merchants exported grain, flour, and timber. The shipments traveled to England where British middlemen traded them for Great Britain's manufactured goods, which they sent back to the southern shores of Upper Canada.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup> Bergquist, 21-26; Cayton and Onuf, 27-28.

<sup>42</sup> Howard H. Peckham, *Indiana: A Bicentennial History* (New York, 1978), 109-110.

<sup>43</sup> Lower, 196-97; Cornell, et al., 234; White, 80-87.

<sup>44</sup> Careless, 123-24, 151, 155, 160-61.



Agricultural pursuits in Indiana and Upper Canada transitioned quickly from subsistence to commercial farming. Differences in soil composition and climate determined differences in types of produce: corn and pork in Indiana, and wheat and dairy products in Upper Canada. But the divergence in the further development of the economies in these frontier regions arose more from political differences than from differences in resource bases. As part of a union of states within a free-market republic, Indiana residents created basic industries alongside their farms. They processed raw materials and sold manufactured goods without restrictions throughout the states of America and abroad in conjunction with federal trade policies. Upper Canadians, on the other hand, lived within a colony of Great Britain. Until their mother country lifted colonial trade restrictions starting in the 1840s, they enjoyed preferential policies regarding the sale of their unfinished commodities. But, they were also bound to purchase manufactured merchandise from Great Britain. The cultivation of industries that processed agricultural and forest products lagged. Colonial trade policies also led to inefficient practices, such as squaring timber so that it would fit easily into cargo holds.<sup>45</sup> Thus, Upper Canadians built their vast waterways into commercial highways, and the cities along their shores into teeming centers of long-distance commerce.

The difference in political economies also affected the evolution of infrastructure in Indiana and Ontario. To be sure, Indiana quickly recognized the importance of its major rivers for the movement of commercial goods, but it was also concerned from an early date to connect towns within its borders with usable overland roads. Indiana pioneers established several lines of travel across southern Indiana and into north central Indiana by 1816. In 1818, two years after achieving statehood, Indiana legislators approved the use of federal monies to build state roads through the forests. Pioneer farmers built the roads, each 150 feet wide, for \$1.50 per worker per day. "Much of the time of the General

---

<sup>45</sup> Lower explains the process of squaring timber, 209-210.

Assembly from 1818 to 1840 was occupied in authorizing these roads and distributing the fund."<sup>46</sup> By 1825, two main roads led to the capital at Indianapolis. By 1840, the U. S. government had opened the National Road, which ran east-west across central Indiana from Ohio to Illinois; and Indiana had built Michigan Road, which connected the Lake Michigan shoreline at Michigan City in the northwest to the Ohio River at Madison in the southeast. Although portions of Indiana's early roads became impassable at times with rainy or snowy weather, overall they provided transportation routes vital to the economic and social development of the state.

Stage lines, too, facilitated travel during the initial decades of Indiana statehood. Beginning in 1820, stage coaches opened up transportation within Indiana and by the 1830s linked Indiana to the neighboring states of Ohio, Kentucky and Michigan. Indiana's numerous streams also provided transport for its marketable goods. In 1820, Indiana lawmakers declared that every creek large enough to float a sawlog upon was a navigable waterway. By this act, the state government restricted the building of dams and bridges, and encouraged the removal of snags and bars in all usable creeks and rivers.<sup>47</sup> Although most water traffic flowed downstream towards the Ohio or Wabash Rivers, the water highways provided much needed conveyance until the opening of the railroads. In order to enhance the waterway system, Indiana tried to establish a series of canals throughout the state in the latter part of the 1830s. This effort failed miserably, however. Most of the canals were neither finished nor used and their construction bankrupted the state by 1840.<sup>48</sup>

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Upper Canadians spent little energy to create transportation routes that connected inland settlements to one another. The vast

---

<sup>46</sup> Esarey, 255. For information regarding the building of roads, waterways and stage lines, see Esarey, Chap. XI, 254-278.

<sup>47</sup> Esarey, 263-64.

<sup>48</sup> Peckham, 63-64.

Canadian Shield impeded settlement very far into Upper Canada's interior. The impetus to build a few major roads across the southern part of the province came from the British military.<sup>49</sup> Otherwise the roads were often deeply rutted and "impassable for anything but a mounted rider or a pedlar's pack horse."<sup>50</sup> Therefore, the expansive interior of Upper Canada was not accessible until after 1850 and the coming of the railroads.<sup>51</sup> In the meantime, Upper Canadians worked hard to develop waterways that linked the frontier to mercantile interests in Montreal and England. Settlement and transportation relied upon the Great Lakes, the Ottawa River, which divided Upper and Lower Canada, and the St. Lawrence Seaway.

Upper Canadians fully employed technological advances in boat and canal building to enhance the usefulness of their waterways. Three main types of vessels appeared on their lakes and rivers: bateaux, large open boats driven by poles, large sailing ships, and after 1816, steam-driven boats.<sup>52</sup> In the 1820s, Upper Canadians competed with New Yorkers by completing their first canal in the upper St. Lawrence the same year as the Erie Canal opened. In 1829, they began construction of the Welland Canal System to join Lakes Erie and Ontario and to bypass the Niagara Falls.<sup>53</sup> However, completion of this project dragged out until 1849. Because it was a separate colony and it exported much the same products as Upper Canada, Lower Canada perceived its burgeoning neighbor as an economic threat and refused to link the two provinces by improving its section of the St. Lawrence River. When Great Britain altered the political organization of its Canadian colonies in 1841, progress on the Welland Canal System proceeded quickly.<sup>54</sup> In the

---

<sup>49</sup> Careless, 152.

<sup>50</sup> Careless, 152.

<sup>51</sup> Careless, 153.

<sup>52</sup> Careless, 152-53.

<sup>53</sup> Careless, 154. For information regarding the Upper Canadian canal systems, see Careless, 153-155; and Lower, 200-205.

<sup>54</sup> Lower, 203-204.

meantime, by 1832 the British government had built the Rideau Canal connecting the Ottawa River at Bytown (renamed Ottawa in 1854) to Lake Ontario at Kingston.

Although the British created the Rideau Canal to protect Canada from the United States, it was never used for this purpose. Rather, it provided a water route for Upper Canadians, albeit a circuitous one, around the obstruction of Niagara Falls. It also proved invaluable for shipping timber from Bytown to the St. Lawrence River.

Thus, different political bases that led people in Indiana to add value to raw materials, but directed Upper Canadians to barter their goods unfinished, also encouraged Indiana pioneers to build internal and external transport systems while Upper Canadians concentrated their efforts in constructing water highways that led outward to Great Britain. These differences in political economies also affected minor variances in settlement patterns. In 1850, the largest towns in Indiana, New Albany, Indianapolis, and Madison, each contained about 8,000 residents.<sup>55</sup> In contrast, both Toronto and Kingston boasted populations of 12,000 by the late 1830s.<sup>56</sup> In addition, by 1860, over 91 percent of Indiana's inhabitants lived in rural areas; whereas only 80 percent of Upper Canadians lived outside of large urban areas.<sup>57</sup> Topography also played a part in the different settlement patterns. Indiana pioneers populated all sections of Indiana by mid-century. At the same time in Upper Canada, the bulk of the population, hemmed in by the Canadian Shield, resided along the waterways, by the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers in the East, and close to the shores of Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario in the West.

---

<sup>55</sup> Peckham, 65.

<sup>56</sup> White, 83-84.

<sup>57</sup> Peckham, 76; White, 102.

### Frontier Politics, Religious Persuasions, and Societal Arrangements

The political organizations that ordered the economies and lives of pioneer settlers in Indiana and Upper Canada shared historical development. Both organizations arose out of the British Parliamentary system with its upper and lower houses and its approach towards representative government. Both organizations were born from constitutional documents framed by nation-states that were themselves reacting to the American Revolution as they sought to define future relationships between themselves and their subordinate units. But, just as the reactions of these nation-states, the United States and Great Britain, differed, so did the purposes of the constitutions they wrote for their newly forming frontier territories.

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 that chartered the course for Indiana provided guidelines for the establishment of several states. It encouraged the rapid formation of these new political entities, and offered full and equal status within the American union once each unit achieved statehood. In contrast, the document that initially directed Upper Canada's destiny, The Constitutional Act of 1791, known informally as the Canada Act, sought to control Great Britain's North American colonies by limiting their power, thereby keeping them weak.<sup>58</sup> Thus, the Northwest Ordinance promoted economic self-sufficiency and political partnership; whereas the Constitutional Act of 1791 supported economic dependence and political subjugation.

Nevertheless, Indiana and Upper Canada shared similar political experiences for the first quarter century of their existence. The American President appointed a governor, a secretary and three judges to govern the Northwest Territory of the United States just as the British King appointed a governor general to oversee all of Canada, and a lieutenant-governor to govern Upper Canada.<sup>59</sup> "The Lieutenant-Governor appointed as his

---

<sup>58</sup> Careless, 116-17; Lower, 124-25; and White, 65.

<sup>59</sup> Esarey, 129-30. Esarey explains that the U. S. Congress appointed the five government officials in the Northwest Territory until the U. S. Constitution was ratified in

advisors a Legislative Council (whose members would hold their position for life) and an Executive Council (the nature and duties of which were never defined).<sup>60</sup> Here again, however, the purposes of the United States' Northwest Territorial Governor and the Upper Canadian Lieutenant-Governor differed. The former was charged with developing the territories of the Northwest to statehood; while the latter was expected to nurture British institutions, such as monarchy and aristocracy, so as to avoid further colonial rebellions against the mother state.<sup>61</sup>

In 1816, the gap between the types of government in Indiana and Upper Canada widened significantly. After having been defined as a territory in 1800, and limited in size to its approximate permanent boundaries in 1809, Indiana became the nineteenth state of the American union in 1816.<sup>62</sup> Even the preparations for statehood set Indiana politics apart from Upper Canada's because Indiana residents, not the federal government, performed them. Male residents of Indiana who were of legal age, had paid their taxes and met resident requirements elected delegates to the constitutional convention which drew up a constitution and architected the government design for the soon-to-be new state. The U. S. government set only two restrictions for this convention: the constitution was to be republican in nature, and it was to exclude slavery.<sup>63</sup>

Historian Logan Esarey states that the Indiana State Constitution of 1816 "was a judicious compound of the constitutions of Ohio, Kentucky, and the United States."<sup>64</sup>

---

1789 at which point the President inherited the appointive powers. For the Northwest Ordinance itself, see Charles Kettleborough, *Constitution Making in Indiana: A Source Book of Constitutional Documents with Historical Introduction and Critical Notes* (Indiana Historical Bureau; Indianapolis, 1971), 26-33.

<sup>60</sup> White, 64-65.

<sup>61</sup> Careless, 116-17; and White, 64-65.

<sup>62</sup> Peckham, 37 and 45. On page 216, Esarey explains that in 1816 the U. S. Congress added "a strip ten miles wide across the northern border [of Indiana], and some small areas east of the Wabash between Vincennes and Terre Haute."

<sup>63</sup> Esarey, 216.

<sup>64</sup> Esarey, 219. For information regarding the 1816 Indiana State Constitution, see

The first article contained a Bill of Rights in harmony with the one in the U. S. Constitution. Subsequent articles divided governmental powers into executive, legislative and judicial branches. They dealt with state election dates and term limits for state legislators. Article III established age requirements for legislators and stated that they must be taxpayers. Voter qualifications required males to be 21 years of age and to reside within the state for one year. The constitution indicated which public officials were to be elected. These included members of the General Assembly, the governor and lieutenant governor, associate circuit judges, sheriffs and coroners. It also stipulated that the governor possessed only a "suspensive veto, which could be overcome by a majority of each House."<sup>65</sup> The General Assembly, comprised of Upper and Lower Houses called the Senate and House, respectively, was thereby charged with most of the appointive and other governmental powers. The Indiana State Constitution of 1816 thus laid the framework for governing Indiana until 1850. At that time, following provisions in the 1816 document, Indiana called its second constitutional convention to write a new state constitution.

During most of the years until Indiana rewrote its constitution, Upper Canadians retained their status as a subject people, living under the Constitutional Act of 1791. And yet, they were not subject people because they could not, like Indiana residents, elect government representatives. They were subjects because their representatives held little power. Indeed, the Upper Canadian government structure very much resembled Indiana's, but the powers invested in the different branches were nearly opposite of the American state's. The Constitutional Act of 1791 first divided Canada into Upper and Lower, Upper Canada at first containing the geographic area that would become Ontario as well as everything north and west of it. Lower Canada included what would become Quebec and

---

Esarey, 219-221. For the constitution itself, see Kettleborough, 83-128.

<sup>65</sup> Esarey, 220.

everything eastward, excluding the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island. Upper and Lower Canada both obtained the right for an assembly elected by "those adult males who owned land in freehold with an 'annual value' of at least forty shillings."<sup>66</sup> This property qualification ensured nearly universal male suffrage in Upper Canada because the government's settlement policy "gave away 200 acre farms to pioneers."<sup>67</sup> Therefore, the right to vote fell to the majority of adult males in both Indiana and Ontario.

As in Indiana, the Lower House worked in conjunction with an executive branch and an upper legislative house. But, where Indiana's House shared almost all governmental power with Indiana's Senate, the lieutenant-governor in Upper Canada's executive branch held almost all governmental power. The lieutenant-governor could seek the advice of his Legislative and Executive Councils, but the Act of 1791 did not require him to follow it. Furthermore, the Legislative Council, which was the counterpart to Indiana's Senate, was created to limit the power of the elected assembly. Its members were appointed for life on the model of the House of Lords in the British Parliament. No laws could pass without the consent of this Upper House.<sup>68</sup> The main power that Upper Canada's Lower House received was the authority to vote taxes. The elected assembly granted taxes so that colonists would not be taxed against their wills, and so that "the colonies might meet the costs of their own government."<sup>69</sup> However, even the assembly's power of the purse was limited. In order to ensure that the lieutenant-governor maintained an independent revenue source, "one-seventh of the lands granted in Upper Canada was to be set aside as 'Crown Reserves.'"<sup>70</sup> The Constitutional Act of 1791

---

<sup>66</sup> White, 64. For information regarding the provisions of the Constitutional Act of 1791, see White, 64-65; and Careless, 116-21.

<sup>67</sup> White, 71.

<sup>68</sup> Careless, 120.

<sup>69</sup> Careless, 119.

<sup>70</sup> White, 65.



remained as the basis of government in Upper and Lower Canada until 1841. At that time, the British Parliament instituted a new constitutional document, the Act of Union of 1840.<sup>71</sup>

One of the most significant differences spelled out in the constitutional documents that established political and social structures in Indiana and Upper Canada concerned religion. Americans broke completely with British (and nearly universally western) traditions of an established church. The first Article of the Northwest Ordinance instituted freedom of religion in the Northwest Territory.<sup>72</sup> Following the example of the U. S. Constitution, the Indiana State Constitution of 1816 clearly stipulated both freedom of religion and separation of church and state. Article I, Section 3 of the constitution stated:

That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God, according to the dictates of their own consciences: That no man shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of Worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent: That no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience: And that no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious societies, or modes of worship and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office of trust or profit.<sup>73</sup>

In determined contrast to the American innovation regarding religion, the British Parliament attempted to establish the Anglican Church in Upper Canada. Canadian historian Randall White asserts that the Constitutional Act of 1791 contained "broad hints that the Anglican Church of England was to be the 'established church' of Upper Canada," as it had been in several of the former American colonies before the War of Independence. White continues stating that in order to create this religious establishment, the Act of 1791 instructed that "one-seventh of the lands granted new settlers was to be set aside for 'the Support and Maintenance of a Protestant Clergy', and some of this land could be used to

---

<sup>71</sup> Careless, 198.

<sup>72</sup> Kettleborough, 31.

<sup>73</sup> Kettleborough, 84-85.

erect parsonages 'according to the Establishment of the Church of England.'"74 Landon explains that although the Legislature of Upper Canada never made provision for establishment, "the authorities both in England and in the province acted as if the establishment were a part of the constitution." Government officials set precedents by giving to the Church of England in Upper Canada "rights, privileges and public financial support which were withheld from other religious bodies."75 Such precedents began with Upper Canada's first Lieutenant-Governor, Simcoe, who promoted the Anglican Church as a "spiritual bulwark for the authority of his new governing class," the members of his Legislative Council who were appointed for life.76

Despite the differences in constitutional dictums, however, immigrants to both Indiana and Upper Canada were free to practice the religions of their choosing. Therefore, as Americans migrated westward into both Upper Canada and the Northwest Territory prior to 1812, they carried with them the religious currents of their time. Historians of American religion have characterized these currents as the Second Great Awakening.77 American historians generally agree that the American Revolution spawned the Second Great Awakening just as it sparked notable reactions in both the political and social realms of life. Republican ideals not only severed political ties with Great Britain, they also made suspect ties with religious organizations that were supported by the British government in England, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Thus the former prestige of

---

74 White, 65. Also, see Landon, 75-77.

75 Landon, 76.

76 White, 67.

77 See Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, 1989), 261, fn41, for a bibliography including the most prominent historians of American religion who jointly defined the Second Great Awakening. Hatch examines the logic of their consensus about this religious revival, and contrasts his conclusions with theirs in the final chapter of his book, "Redefining the Second Great Awakening: A Note on the Study of Christianity in the Early Republic," 220-26. For a concise summary of the Second Great Awakening, see Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, 1992), "Chapter 7: Evangelical Mobilization," 165-190.

churches that had been linked to the Church of England was lost in the fledgling United States.

After the physical disruption of the Revolutionary War and the departure of the Loyalists to Canada and abroad, a momentous revival of religious feeling ensued in the United States. This revival, which occurred within the fifty years after the revolution, grew from republican as well as spiritual sentiments. American religious historian Nathan Hatch summarizes three ways that "the popular religious movements of the early republic articulated a profoundly democratic spirit."<sup>78</sup> First, clergymen no longer separated themselves from the ranks of common people. Rather they exalted the innate wisdom and virtue of the masses of people. Second, the religious revival for the first time encouraged the "deepest spiritual impulses" of people by incorporating gospel singing, and emotional conversions, and by recognizing the spiritual significance of dreams and visions. Third, Hatch states that the Awakening kindled dreams of ushering in "a new age of religious and social harmony" as ordinary people overthrew "coercive and authoritarian structures."<sup>79</sup>

In its broader and most recognizable form, the Second Great Awakening consisted of the rise of Protestant sects, the formation of missions and voluntary societies, the era of itinerant preachers, and the golden age of church camp revivals. These features of the Awakening followed American immigrants west into the Northwest Territory and into Upper Canada. They also thrust Methodism into the front ranks of North American Protestantism. Indeed, the missionary zeal and tight structure of the Methodist churches forged the paths of itinerant preachers from Baptist, Presbyterian, Disciples of Christ, Mormon and other Christian sects across the frontiers of the United States and Canada. Contemporary descriptions of the travels and methods of exhortation of itinerant preachers in Upper Canada so distinctly echo depictions offered by American historians

---

<sup>78</sup> Hatch, 9.

<sup>79</sup> Hatch, 9-11.

that examples from either frontier suffice to describe the phenomenon.<sup>80</sup> For instance, Landon relates the story of Nathan Bangs, an itinerant Methodist preacher who arrived in Upper Canada in 1802. Bangs "recorded that in riding from one appointment to another the preachers sometimes had to pass through forest wilderness of from ten to sixty miles, camping in the woods when overtaken by night or finding shelter in an Indian's hut."<sup>81</sup> Landon goes on to quote a passage from the memoirs of Loyalist Amelia Harris regarding the camp meetings of the Methodist preachers in Upper Canada during her childhood.

Their sermons and prayers were very loud, forcible and energetic, and if they had been printed verbatim would have looked a sad jumble of words. They encouraged an open demonstration of feeling among their hearers--the louder the more satisfactory. But notwithstanding the criticisms cast upon these early preachers, were they not the class of men who suited their hearers? They shared their poverty and entered into all their feelings; and although unlearned, they taught the one true doctrine--to serve God in spirit and truth....<sup>82</sup>

However, the democratic rhetoric, alluded to by Harris and so well described by Hatch, helped to drive a wedge between America and Canada during the War of 1812. Mark Noll, historian of religion in the U. S. and Canada, posits that "the chance that Canadian Protestantism might [have] follow[ed] the populist, sectarian, fragmenting ways of the United States--certainly a real chance in early decades--came to an end because of the War."<sup>83</sup> After hostilities ended in 1815, Upper Canadians ceased to welcome either Americans or the republican nature of their politics and religious revival. By this time,

---

<sup>80</sup> For additional descriptions of the travels and preaching methods of itinerant Protestant evangelical preachers from across the North American religious spectrum, see Hatch and Noll. For a detailed examination of early Mormon itinerant preaching in the U. S. and Canada, see *The Journals of William E. McLellin, 1831-1836*, ed. Jan Shipps and John W. Welch (Provo, UT and Urbana, IL, 1994).

<sup>81</sup> Landon, 78. On p. 195, Hatch mentions a Nathan Bangs as "a dominant [American] Methodist leader in the generation after [Francis] Asbury."

<sup>82</sup> As quoted in Landon, 78-79.

<sup>83</sup> Noll, 267.

Loyalist families, which formed but a minority of the population, dominated the Upper Canadian House. In addition, most Loyalists belonged to the semi-established Anglican Church. They also comprised the most prominent group among merchants and businessmen. In the aftermath of the war, the Anglican church "took on a new respectability as a key link to the mother country."<sup>84</sup> This new respectability strengthened the power base of the Loyalist families. In the wake of the rise of this oligarchy, Methodist preachers in Upper Canada turned their backs on American Methodism and embraced the conservative ideology of the English Wesleyans. Within a decade, though, reactionary feeling from the War of 1812 had subsided, and Americans and their democratic leanings once again traveled back and forth across the Canadian border.

The powerful ideas and emotional enthusiasm of the Second Great Awakening played an important role in the formation of the North American frontiers. In Indiana, evangelical Christianity forestalled the incorporation of elitist religious institutions from the eastern states as sole leaders of society. Itinerant preachers eventually settled down and became resident ministers, farmers and teachers. By mid-century, the leading sectarian groups, Methodists, Baptists, and Disciples of Christ, had joined more traditional groups such as the Presbyterians to form the mainstream of Christian religion.

"Methodists...always constituted the largest religious element in central Indiana as... in much of the lower Midwest." Also, various branches of the Christian or Disciples of Christ denomination claimed Indiana and "adjacent parts of Ohio, Illinois, and Kentucky as their 'core' region."<sup>85</sup> In northern Indiana and in the upper Midwest, New England immigrants were often from the older more established religious groups, especially the Presbyterians.<sup>86</sup> The largest group in Indiana that fell outside the religious mainstream of

---

<sup>84</sup> Noll, 267.

<sup>85</sup> Berquist, 13.

<sup>86</sup> See, for example, Malcolm J. Rohrbough, "Diversity and Unity in the Old Northwest," *Pathways to the Old Northwest: An Observance of the Bicentennial of the Northwest Ordinance* (Indiana Historical Society; Indianapolis, 1988), 76.

this time was the Roman Catholic. Most Irish, some Germans and other foreign groups belonged to this church.

The combination of religious revival and reaction from the War of 1812 worked together to form a religious landscape in Upper Canada different from the one in Indiana. Anglicans constituted the largest Upper Canadian denomination until 1842. After that year, both Methodists and Presbyterians edged out the Anglican lead. As in Indiana, Catholics represented a large minority. Among the smaller Protestant groups, Baptists were the most numerous.<sup>87</sup> Throughout the early decades of the 1800s, Anglicans and Presbyterians joined forces in contending for a "faith featuring order, stability and social harmony."<sup>88</sup> Against this tide of traditionalism, non-established Protestant sects spearheaded by the Methodists began to champion itinerant preachers who provided spiritual nourishment for the mostly rural population. They insisted upon the need for spiritual rebirth, and promoted voluntary societies and missionary work. Furthermore, they called for an end to Anglican privilege and started fighting a political battle to stop the exclusive payment of revenue from the Clergy Reserves to the Anglican Church. Over the first half of the century, the two opposing sides gradually moved towards each others' viewpoints. The ongoing debate "resulted in a relatively common approach to church, society and public morality. It was generally agreed that the life-changing experience of conversion was crucial, but also that conversion had to be joined to public responsibility in the construction of a civilization."<sup>89</sup> Although debate over the Clergy Reserves proved much more contentious than debate regarding philosophical issues, it too was settled in 1854 when the Reserves were secularized.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> Noll, 266.

<sup>88</sup> Noll, 267.

<sup>89</sup> Noll, 268.

<sup>90</sup> Noll, 269.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, then, the turbulent exchange of spiritual ideals sparked by the American Revolution and nurtured by the Second Great Awakening had fostered the creation of new religious movements on the American and Canadian frontiers. In countless backwoods villages Protestant evangelicalism won multitudes of converts with its advocacy of common people. In Indiana, where political bonds between church and state were severed by the state's earliest constitution, revivalist Protestantism quickly rose to prominence. Traditional religious groups like the Presbyterians who had enjoyed privilege and status in the eastern United States experienced overwhelming competition from sects like the Methodists. Although they became members of the developing mainstream, they were grossly outnumbered by newer, less elitist groups. In Upper Canada, on the other hand, Great Britain enacted a constitution in which it tried to establish the Anglican Church as a state institution. Public reaction against the United States after the War of 1812 encouraged this arrangement. So, Protestant evangelical forces in Upper Canada formed alongside a strong, state-supported traditionalist church. But, thirty-odd years of religious polarization gave way to a compromise stance. Thus, the mainstream prevalent at mid-century contained substantial elements of both hierarchical and democratic thinking.

The evolution of the social structures in Indiana and Upper Canada reflected the development of the political and religious structures in these regions. Indiana had no social structure decreed by law. Constitutionally, "all men" were created equal, and were to be treated as equal under the law. Titles of rank were forbidden by the U. S. Constitution. Qualifications for voting or holding political office did not discriminate between rich and poor, educated or uneducated, or distinguished or ordinary family backgrounds. The religious sentiments that came to prevail throughout Indiana and the states of the Old Northwest featured strong support for common people. In contrast, Great Britain tried to instill a hierarchical social structure in Upper Canada by making provisions in its Canada Act for a hand-picked governing body and an established church.



Issues of loyalty and territorial defense during the War of 1812 strengthened this attempt to have an order in society. The result was a society with at least two tiers: the governing class that belonged almost exclusively to the Anglican Church, and the rest of the Upper Canadians, most of whom claimed membership in non-established Protestant evangelical churches.

However, the experiences of people who lived in Indiana and Upper Canada during the formative years suggest that more strata existed in the social structures of both these areas than was officially recognized. Disparities existed among immigrants from the opening for settlement of North America's western territories. Some people owned more money, land, or material wealth than others. Some people had better educations. Some people possessed friends or family members who were well-placed in the political and business communities back East or abroad. Many of these more fortunate immigrants experienced an ease in acquiring land, financial opportunities or positions of status within their new communities that their neighbors never experienced or experienced in lesser degrees.

Differences in wealth, education and station acted as identifiers of social strata before the American revolution. After the war, North Americans debated the relevance of social classifications. Americans came to think of themselves as equals regardless of wealth, education or station. British Canadians, on the other hand, preferred to acknowledge the differences so as to maintain ties to the English tradition of hierarchy, which many argued was necessary for order and stability within society. Nevertheless, differences that set groups of people apart from one another played an important role in the formation of both American and Canadian societies. They helped to shape definitions about key ideals such as equality; and they helped to shape the institutions that would foster these ideals within their societies. Chapters Three and Four will explore some ways in which people from different social strata, particularly the wealthier groups involved in governance, defined equality in Indiana and Upper Canada by examining their rhetoric and



actions as they set about to establish public schools, institutions that would provide opportunity for increased wealth, political power and social position.

### Chapter 3

#### From Idea to Ideal: Public Education in Indiana and Upper Canada, 1787-1837

*Experience has shown, that even under the best forms [of government], those entrusted with power have, in time, and by slow operations, perverted it into tyranny; and it is believed that the most effectual means of preventing this would be to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large.... And whereas it is generally true that the people will be happiest whose laws are best, and are best administered,... it becomes expedient for promoting the public happiness that those persons, whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue, should be rendered by liberal education worthy to receive, and be able to regard the sacred deposits of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, and that they should be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth, or other accidental condition or circumstance....*<sup>91</sup> (Thomas Jefferson, "Preamble," *A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge*, State of Virginia, 1796)

*The Council are convinced... that the Youth now growing up in the Province... [should] have an opportunity of receiving their education under Tutors, not merely eminent for their learning, but for their attachment to the British Monarchy, and to the Established Church.... It is quite evident that such an Institution in alliance with the Church, would tend to establish a most affectionate connexion, between this Colony and the Parent State.... [It] would gradually infuse into the whole population, a tone and feeling entirely English, and... render it certain that the first feelings[,] sentiments and opinions of Youth should be British.*<sup>92</sup> (Executive Council Report regarding the proposal of a university for Upper Canada, 1819)

---

<sup>91</sup> As quoted in Ed. Charles F. Arrowood, *Thomas Jefferson and Education in a Republic* (New York, 1930), 79-81.

<sup>92</sup> As quoted in George W. Spragge, "John Strachan's Contribution to Education, 1800-1823," *Historical Essays on Upper Canada*, ed. J. K. Johnson (Toronto, 1975), 82.

Public education did not exist in North America before the nineteenth century.<sup>93</sup> When people in Indiana and Upper Canada began to discuss the creation of public schools within their societies, they joined a much wider conversation that was just beginning to gain momentum in the eastern United States, in Canada and across the Atlantic in Europe. This discussion began as a consequence of revolutionary changes that were occurring in the political, religious, social, and economic realms of life. Throughout much of the western world the ancient tradition of a hierarchical society governed by a monarch was giving way to new concepts about citizenries involved in the principles and mechanisms of governance. Protestant revivals had unleashed a growing belief in the sanctity and worthiness of individuals. Social and economic barriers between the worlds of aristocrats, wealthy businessmen and commoners were crumbling. The Industrial Revolution was moving from the British Isles to the northern European continent, poised to travel west to North America, initiating new jobs and new skills needed to perform them. Abundant, cheap and productive land in North America was offering ordinary people opportunities for becoming property holders, taxpayers and voters.

Momentous changes in the lives of westerners demanded parallel changes in the ways that people thought about their relations to one another, ordered their lives, and prepared themselves for the tasks inherent to the new political and social systems they were embracing--even as they sought to shape and define them. Educating people became vital for the maintenance and well-being of society. But, since models for public schools were lacking, lawmakers and educators in Indiana and Upper Canada could not count on precedent when they began to discuss the creation of public schools. Indeed, public education was a new idea borne from strange environments that called forth imagination and innovation to meet the challenges posed by political, economic, and social revolutions.

---

<sup>93</sup> Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society* (Williamsburg, 1960; repr., New York, 1970), 11.

The idea grew alongside traditional methods of teaching children, but constituted an original system rather than an evolutionary phenomenon.

The development of educational systems in North America began in concurrence with the development of public institutions for governance. Both were predicated upon brave new ideals, the meanings of which were debated and fought over among the lowliest day laborers, neophyte farmers with tenuous financial stakes upon new lands, merchants and businessmen, professionals, and political and religious leaders in the United States and Canada. All North Americans held significant special interests in the eventual outcome of this grappling for definitions. For, whatever freedom and equality came to mean would determine the limits to personal ambition, prosperity, societal status, and political influence. The creation of public schools occurred during the most intense period of self-definition, from the 1790s to the 1850s. Debates as to whether or not common schools should exist, and what purposes they would and would not serve arose directly from arguments about the types of societies Americans and British Canadians desired to create. When trying to design a society in the wilds of North America in the aftermath of the American and French Revolutions, issues of equality, liberty and rights always loomed in the questions and answers, and in the political and social attitudes of those joining the discussion. Public school systems that were established in Indiana and Upper Canada by the early 1850s were shaped by these debates.

This chapter examines how the idea of public education arose and how it took physical shape in slow, incremental steps from 1787-1837. Chapter 4 discusses the build-up of education reform fervor between 1838-1852 that spearheaded the establishment of common school systems. Both chapters describe the rhetoric that drove the move towards public schools, as well as the legislative advances that served as markers along the path to the institution of public education.

## The Growth of an Idea: Public Education on Two Frontiers, 1787-1825

The idea that society was responsible to educate its members grew out of the convergence of new ways of organizing people socially and politically, and with the traditional English methods of teaching and acculturating children. "Family, community, and church together accounted for the greater part of the mechanism by which English culture transferred itself across the generations."<sup>94</sup> Formal training in a place set aside for education began in the way of apprenticeships. Young girls and boys learned from parents, masters and tutors those subjects necessary to fulfill their roles in life. The British obtained reading and writing skills because it was useful for many occupations. Young men destined to lead in society, to erect buildings, heal the sick, provide legal advice, and so forth, attended institutions of higher learning in order to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary for these positions. Also, in the wake of the Protestant Reformation, preachers exhorted their flocks to read the Bible, and thus encouraged parents to teach their children to read the holy book.<sup>95</sup>

Elementary education was widespread in the British North American colonies before the American Revolution. This was due to parental, church and private efforts to provide basic literacy and ciphering skills. Most immigrants had derived from the middle ranks of British society, and most were Protestant.<sup>96</sup> In addition, "the colonies commercial development and broad male franchise reinforced the importance of literacy for adults."<sup>97</sup> However, life in North America was different than life in the Old World. The constant pull of land tended to break families apart as people moved west. This became especially true after the 1780s when the Northwest Territories opened for settlement in the U. S., and British Canada started competing for settlers to the Great

---

<sup>94</sup> Bailyn, 18-19.

<sup>95</sup> Bailyn, 19-20.

<sup>96</sup> Kaestle, Carl E., *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860*. (New York, 1983), 3.

<sup>97</sup> Kaestle, 3.

Lakes regions. Apprenticeships declined as a means to acquire the skills and knowledge to fulfill particular occupational roles. Cheap, abundant land invited settlers to become independent land-owning farmers. Families became more isolated from extended family and neighbors, and communities became less closely-knit than in the past. Ties to churches became loose or broken.

Changes in settlement patterns, in economic strategies, and in family and community life worked against and for the basic education of children. On the one hand, families needed the labor of children to subsist on the production from small farmsteads. Schooling often took a back seat to these demands. On the other hand, children were likely to leave home at younger ages to achieve independence. They needed rudimentary reading, writing and mathematical skills to provide materially for themselves and their offspring whether they farmed for themselves or worked in outside labor markets. Therefore, the need arose for new ways to educate children that harmonized with newly-forming lifestyles. In the United States and in British North America, several types of schooling developed that answered the demand for basic education. Teaching facilities ranged from home schooling in which a parent taught his or her own children and a few neighboring children to private boarding schools where children of affluent parents traveled to live and study. In *History of Niagara*, Janet Carnochan states "There were private schools, Garrison schools, the District Grammar School, Church Schools, Separate Schools, Ladies' Schools, Classical Schools, Night Schools, Boarding Schools, Schools for Coloured Children, Dames' Schools, the Fort Schools and many others."<sup>98</sup> Most were funded either individually or collectively by parents who provided materials and labor to build the schools, and who paid tuition fees to teachers and purchased the books from which their children studied.<sup>99</sup> Student populations varied most according to gender and

---

<sup>98</sup> As quoted in Jesse Edgar Middleton and Fred Landon, "Primary and Secondary Schools," *The Province of Ontario: A History, 1615-1927* (Toronto, 1927), 568.

<sup>99</sup> Kaestle, 3-4; and Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, "Family and State in Upper

class, rather than age. Curriculum varied according to the teacher's abilities, and the student body. Most schools offered reading, writing and basic arithmetic; and girls' schools generally taught domestic skills, such as sewing, as well. Regional schools, which catered to wealthier families, whether government subsidized or not, often included advanced subjects like Latin, the classics and geography.

Prior to 1816, most of the initiative and the means to pay for schooling came from parents and communities that could afford them. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the American and British federal governments began encouraging education, too. In the United States, John Adams, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson argued in post-revolutionary state and federal political conventions that "liberty depended on the general diffusion of knowledge."<sup>100</sup> At this time, leading educators also began to speak out about the importance of education. In the U. S. congressional convention of 1787, educator Manasseh Cutler, speaking as an agent for the Ohio (land speculation) Company voiced the purpose of education: discipline and knowledge. "Like many education leaders of the Revolutionary generation, Cutler saw discipline and knowledge as prerequisites for virtue, and he believed that republicanism could only work in a nation of virtuous citizens."<sup>101</sup> Education could instill these qualities. This view, held by some national statesmen and prestigious educators, led to the inclusion in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 Article 3, which stated that "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be encouraged."<sup>102</sup> In order to materially support this philosophy, the federal government

---

Canadian Education," *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto, 1988), 9-32.

<sup>100</sup> Paul Monroe, *Founding of the American Public School System: A History of Education in the United States, from the Early Settlements to the Close of the Civil War Period* (New York, 1940), 202.

<sup>101</sup> Carl F. Kaestle, "Public Education in the Old Northwest: 'Necessary to Good Government and the Happiness of Mankind,'" *Indiana Magazine of History*, 1988, 64.

<sup>102</sup> As quoted in Monroe, 196.

set aside grants of land to be used for the purpose of education. In Indiana, this grant amounted to one section from every township and one-twentieth of the proceeds from the sale of public lands, including the salt springs or saline lands.<sup>103</sup> "The control of this land reserved for public education... was vested in the state legislature in trust for the people."<sup>104</sup>

In Upper Canada, British and colonial officials began encouraging education, as well. One of the first Lt. Governors, John Graves Simcoe, requested a grant of 1,000 pounds annually for two schoolmasters and a university in order to educate the children of the colony's higher classes.<sup>105</sup> Simcoe felt it his duty to "'inculcate British Customs, Manners & Principles in the most trivial, as well as serious matters' in order 'to assimilate the colony with the parent state.'"<sup>106</sup> Historian Brian McKillop asserts that "Education was central to [Simcoe's] purpose" of preserving the English Constitution in which "the monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic elements in society upheld and stabilized the social order by keeping each other in check."<sup>107</sup> However, the British Parliament did not conform to Simcoe's proposal until a year after his departure from the colony when the Upper Canadian Assembly and Executive Council petitioned King George III for support of education. The King granted their request in 1797 stipulating that the grant was for "the establishment of Free Grammar Schools in those Districts in which they are called for, and in due process of time by establishing other seminaries of a larger and more comprehensive nature..."<sup>108</sup> Subsequent to his approval, about 549,217 acres in twelve

---

<sup>103</sup> Monroe, 197-199.

<sup>104</sup> Monroe, 198.

<sup>105</sup> Houston and Prentice, 23.

<sup>106</sup> As quoted in A. B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791-1951* (Toronto, 1994), 5.

<sup>107</sup> McKillop, 6. In *Pillars of the Republic*, 4, Kaestle calls this belief in the stabilizing force of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy "classical political theory," and states that prior to the Revolution, American leaders believed in it, too.

<sup>108</sup> As quoted in Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, J 1, John Strachan Papers: Memorandum of the [Lt.] Governor submitted to the Executive Council concerning lands



townships were appropriated from the Crown Lands for the purpose of education.<sup>109</sup> However, unlike the U. S. government that gave states the right to administer the education fund, the King stipulated that his government's grant was "contingent upon the advice of the Upper Canadian Executive Council, Judges, and law officers of the Crown."<sup>110</sup> Control of these schools would be governed by the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada and his Executive Council.

Such land schemes as embodied in the Northwest Ordinance were "based on the old English idea of devoting land to educational purposes."<sup>111</sup> Undoubtedly, King George's grant for education in Upper Canada used English custom as precedent, too. But, as educator Carl Kaestle contends, suggesting "a strong role for the state" in education was "quite innovative."<sup>112</sup> The period succeeding the American Revolution called for many innovations. Apparently using education to support the goals of tenuous, vulnerable governments in safeguarding the founding principles of their respective countries seemed a prudent course to politicians on both sides of the North American continent. This was a crucial judgment. Over time, it proved an invaluable tool in stabilizing young democratic governments. However, although settlers in the American Northwest Territory and in Upper Canada continued to create schools of various sorts upon their respective frontiers, decades would elapse before governments in either area would grasp the reins of school control so as to instill moral discipline, knowledge about governmental principles, and thus, patriotism and loyalty. Historians of American schools refer to the Northwest Ordinance as the "cornerstone of public education," while

---

for schools and the University, May 1830.

<sup>109</sup> MG 24, J 1, Memorandum of the [Lt.] Governor submitted to the Executive Council..., May 1830.

<sup>110</sup> As quoted in MG 24, J 1, Memorandum of the [Lt.] Governor submitted to the Executive Council..., May 1830.

<sup>111</sup> Kaestle, "Public Education in the Old Northwest...", 64.

<sup>112</sup> Kaestle, "Public Education in the Old Northwest...", 64-65.

simultaneously reporting its failure to produce public school systems in the U. S.<sup>113</sup> Likewise, historians of British Canada generally agree that King George's educational grant of 1797, while encouraging of education, did not supply state-regulated elementary schools for all of his young Upper Canadian subjects.<sup>114</sup> But, early on, state and local governments in the U. S. and Canada acted as supporters of education as it existed. They did not immediately set out to create public education that included universality and stressed the goal of moral cohesion. Therefore, there was no failure at the time because there was no standard yet devised as a goal.

Nevertheless, the infusion of government support stimulated a slow move towards state provision of public schools in both Indiana and Upper Canada. It laid down the seed of an idea that government could furnish the means to build schools, and that it could direct the interpretations of historical teachings to favor and promote the society in which the citizens lived. The seed awaited fertilization in the formation of governing mechanisms, in the development of political ideals, and in the growth and direction of public needs. Differences in these attributes led to differences in the speed with which Indiana's and Upper Canada's governments built state-regulated school systems, and in the amount of government intervention which was involved at various points in the process of creating public schools.

Indiana moved very sluggishly to build state schools compared to the British colony. During Indiana's territorial period from 1800 to 1816, only two or three teachers served Indiana, and only one seminary opened.<sup>115</sup> Upper Canada did little to provide

---

<sup>113</sup> Kaestle, "Public Education in the Old Northwest...", 61.

<sup>114</sup> See for example, R. D. Gidney, "Elementary Education in Upper Canada: A Reassessment," *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*, eds. Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly (New York, 1975), 3-27.

<sup>115</sup> Richard G. Boone, *A History of Education in Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1941), 8. Also, see Laura Bachelder, "The Growth of Indiana's Public School System, 1785-1875," M. A. paper, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, 1994, 2.

schools for the general population either. However, before 1800 Upper Canada boasted several schools for "the sons of the colony's elite."<sup>116</sup> In 1806, the Upper Canadian Parliament appropriated 400 pounds for Anglican minister and headmaster John Strachan to purchase scientific apparatus for his school in Cornwall.<sup>117</sup> One year later, the provincial government passed the District Schools Act, which historians Susan Houston and Alison Prentice interpret as the "beginning of sustained state involvement in formal schooling in Upper Canada."<sup>118</sup> This act "provided an annual sum of 800 pounds for the maintenance of a 'public school' in each of the colony's eight districts."<sup>119</sup> The Lt. Governor was to appoint five trustees for each district who would vote for and pay the teachers, and devise school regulations. In addition, the law stated that schoolmasters must be *British* subjects, and that the Lt. Governor could veto the trustees' teacher nominations.<sup>120</sup> Here again, the wealthier inhabitants benefited the most because they could afford to send their children to a district school. Most Upper Canadians could only send their children to district schools if they lived close to the schools.

At first the most obvious reason that Indiana's government lagged behind Upper Canada's in the development of a state school system was because Indiana did not possess its own government until it achieved statehood in 1816. From 1787 until 1800, Indiana was merely a section of the Northwest Territory. From 1800 until 1816, Indiana was a territory, and its residents busied themselves with the process of creating the legislative apparatus that, along with the necessary number of inhabitants, would allow them to form a state. Upper Canadians, on the other hand, enjoyed the direct inheritance of government institutions from Great Britain. Thus, in short order, they formed a workable Parliament under the direction of the Lt. Governor appointed to oversee them.

---

<sup>116</sup> Houston and Prentice, 24.

<sup>117</sup> Houston and Prentice, 24-25.

<sup>118</sup> Houston and Prentice, 25.

<sup>119</sup> Houston and Prentice, 25.

<sup>120</sup> Houston and Prentice, 25.

A second reason for the initial gap in state involvement in education between Indiana and Upper Canada was the time it took for the Americans to work out the definitions of their government's principles and mechanisms. Educator Paul Monroe opines that "Popular education [in the United States] awaited the growth of democratic sentiment and principles," and that "Democracy was not fully conscious of itself and of its power until the decade of the [eighteen]thirties...."<sup>121</sup> Certainly, state and local politicians were not aware of their power in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Other historians stress that "most people at the time considered education to be the responsibility of parents, churches, and local town meetings."<sup>122</sup> But, if Americans were not fully cognizant of democratic principles in their country, their neighbors to the North were all too aware of the democratic principles shaping the political landscape to the South, and threatening to take a firm hold in Upper Canada. Fears about this threat moved British Loyalists, the main group in the colony's Upper House of Parliament, to urge state control upon Upper Canadian schools as extracts from correspondence between Loyalist Major Graham and D. V. Smith in March 1802 show:

The Schoolmasters, they use all their Efforts to poison the minds of the youths, by teaching them in republican books.... Youths educated in said books, by & by, will have the privilege of voting members for our Assembly, & filling the house with their own kinds, & when that is the Case, what may the Governor & Council of this Province expect--trouble too much--as I had the misfortune to live in Maryland, before the rebellion in America, I was an Eyewitness to the Steps they took--makes me dread anything, that may lead to any innovations of Government.<sup>123</sup>

---

<sup>121</sup> Monroe, 211.

<sup>122</sup> Kaestle, "Public Education in the Old Northwest...", 68. Also, Bachelder, 5. Also, Donald F. Carmony, "Education, 1816-1850," *Indiana, 1816-1850: The Pioneer Period* (Indianapolis, 1998), 363.

<sup>123</sup> Public Archives of Canada, RG 1, E 3, v32, Education, Upper Canada, Major Graham to D. V. Smith, March 29, 1802.

A third reason that Upper Canadians moved more quickly to provide state-supported schools than did people in Indiana was due to perceived needs. Settlers to Indiana before it achieved statehood were intent upon clearing the wilderness, and building farms, mills, shops and roads. Educational needs came in second to these immediate occupations because people in the regions carved out of the Northwest Territory knew that they would possess only what they themselves worked to create. In Upper Canada, however, even though most of the early immigrants were Americans as those in Indiana were, the largest group to Upper Canada initially was the Loyalists. Unlike the settlers to both areas who migrated to frontier wilderness in the hopes of becoming self-sufficient, land-owning farmers, Loyalists had fled America, leaving behind land and most of their personal possessions in order to stand firm for the British Crown. Consequently, they looked to the British government for some recompense for their loyalty and sacrifice. State-provided education for their children fell squarely within this expected recompensatory package. Moreover, many Loyalists, with government backing, quickly came into political and social positions from which they could influence legislation, and could afford to take advantage of the educational institutions financed in part by the government. Thus, Loyalists comprised the Executive Council and much of the wealthier strata of Upper Canadian society. The creation of district schools allowed Loyalists to educate their children in the classical tradition so that their sons would be trained to take up the reins of commerce, society and politics. Thus, the School Act of 1807 at once met the needs of the Loyalist class that the British government was ready to reward, and it educated the children of the most patriotic members of society to lead that society in the next generation, a result that served both Loyalists and the British government.

While Upper Canadians built their first state-supported schools for a select few, British, Canadians and Americans fought the War of 1812, and the people in Indiana Territory organized themselves into a state. By 1816, the year that the Upper Canadian Parliament revised its original statute, Indiana lawmakers had addressed the issue of

education in both its state constitution and in the laws drafted by its first state legislature. The School Acts of 1816 in both places marked the first effort by Upper Canada's and Indiana's governments to provide means for the creation of common schools for children of all classes. Subsequent school bills from the 1820s sought to provide educational funding throughout the colony and state, and to institute regulations that would encourage local communities to build schools, and to standardize teacher qualifications. Article IX of the 1816 Indiana State Constitution set the tone for discussion of public schools in Indiana. This article stated that the Indiana General Assembly was to control and administer the school lands so as to create a fund "for the exclusive purpose of promoting the interest of literature and the sciences, and for the support of seminaries and public schools."<sup>124</sup> It was to pass laws "calculated to encourage intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvements" by promoting "arts, sciences, commerce, manufactures, and natural history," and by countenancing the principles of "humanity, honesty, industry and morality."<sup>125</sup> Section 2 stated that the General Assembly was "as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a State University, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all."<sup>126</sup> State government was to perform all of these educational duties because "Knowledge and learning, generally diffused through a community" was "essential to the preservation of a free Government, and spreading the opportunities and advantages of education through the various parts of the country" was "highly conducive to this end."<sup>127</sup>

Article IX of the Indiana State Constitution was a worthy successor to the Northwest Ordinance's education article.<sup>128</sup> But promoting literacy, humanitarianism,

---

<sup>124</sup> As quoted in Boone, 10-11.

<sup>125</sup> Boone, 11.

<sup>126</sup> Boone, 11.

<sup>127</sup> Article IX, Section 1, as quoted in Boone, 10.

<sup>128</sup> Boone, 12-13.

honesty, industry and morality was a practical as well as philosophical matter. As Article IX intimates, and as state legislators realized, these qualities served the state's economy, as well as democracy. In addition, the state's first governor, Jonathan Jennings, who had served as President of Indiana's first constitutional convention considered "the dissemination of useful knowledge" as "a restraint to vice."<sup>129</sup> Also, educator Richard G. Boone declares that Indiana was the first state to stipulate free and equal education for all its citizens in a state-regulated system including elementary, secondary and higher education. However, despite the Indiana constitution's high-mindedness, the operative words in the Article were those that stated a public school system could wait until circumstances permitted. The first laws about education passed by the state legislature in 1816-1817 seemed to heed these words by setting a precedent for building a school system one step at a time, as local residents initiated action.

Indiana's first law regarding schools stated that in order "to prevent waste on lands reserved for the use of schools and salt springs," county commissioners were directed to appoint township superintendents who were to be responsible for leasing out the school lands, and for reserving the timber upon them. Schools would only be established when twenty householders in a township petitioned their desire to organize a school. Thereafter the county sheriff would appoint three trustees who would take over the superintendent's duties, and create laws, rules and regulations "necessary for the purpose of encouraging and supporting [a] school or schools in said Township."<sup>130</sup> Since in Indiana, and elsewhere in the United States territories, townships were laid out prior to settlement, and settlement was sparse at the beginning of statehood, and because settlers generally educated their children at home or in neighborhood and church schools, the voluntary act of petitioning the county sheriff for state-supported schools to be governed by appointed

---

<sup>129</sup> As quoted in Boone, 13.

<sup>130</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 364.



officials, did not produce many schools. Upon reaching statehood, the sections of each township given by the Federal government for the purpose of education, was given "not to the State, but to the citizens."<sup>131</sup> Thus, the citizens of each township could choose to act to establish public schools, or they could elect to not act. Moreover, while some sections of school land were valuable, others were worthless.<sup>132</sup> Both decentralization and voluntary, rather than mandatory, creation of township schools, then, delayed and prolonged the process of establishing a public school system in Indiana. On the other hand, decentralization and voluntary legal compliance were by-products of a new state government that was busy addressing an array of economic and social challenges at the same time as it was trying to articulate and embody novel political principles. Indeed, Indiana's first politicians may have viewed developing a public school system in incremental steps as a common-sense approach to stepping out into the unknown consequences of the new American idealism, as well a pragmatic act of political prioritizing; that is, placing education on a relatively low rung of importance due to the popular perception that it was not among the immediate needs of the state's residents.

The first revision of Upper Canada's education statute showed that the British colony was also undergoing a period of principle-defining, and that its government was trying to assess the perceived needs of its inhabitants. The War of 1812 had highlighted tension between Loyalist families and ordinary settlers. The fact that the wealthier inhabitants of the colony had stood to gain the most by the District Schools Act had not been lost upon the Loyalists' fellow citizens. "Critics quickly emerged who saw the act as chiefly benefiting those who were already privileged in the colony."<sup>133</sup> Upper Canadian petitioners from the less wealthy, non-Anglican classes asked why the law did not provide

---

<sup>131</sup> Logan Esarey, *A History of Indiana from its Exploration to 1850* (Indianapolis, 1970), 289.

<sup>132</sup> Esarey, 289.

<sup>133</sup> Houston and Prentice, 25.



money or resources for schools outside of the major towns, or for common schools for the poor and middling classes everywhere in the province.<sup>134</sup> Defenders of the 1807 bill from the Loyalist, Anglican and wealthier portions of society were quick to point out that district schools "equipped young men with the 'purest moral and religious principles'" and revived "that ardent patriotism, for which their fathers have been so honourably distinguished."<sup>135</sup> Without them, "parents would be forced to send their boys to the United States for advanced schooling."<sup>136</sup> In response to these and similar comments, the Lt. Governor sent a circular to the district trustees asking them how the law was working. Replies mentioned absentee trustees and a lack of good teachers. They complained of the long distances officials must travel, and stated that, at times, no public school was kept.<sup>137</sup>

After the War of 1812, the British government realized that it must not only promote a loyal class of Canadian leaders, it must also cultivate patriotism by improving the values and the financial opportunities of the majority of its colonists. Houston and Prentice show that Lt. Governor Francis Gore articulated the sentiment that "the spread of schooling... would promote morality and religion and ultimately ameliorate the condition of the population." Gore stated that "'To inform the common people...' made them better subjects of 'both God and Man.'"<sup>138</sup> Apparently guided by this argument, the King declared in a speech in 1816 that "'The dissemination of letters is of the first importance to every class....'"<sup>139</sup> He called for "some provision for an establishment of schools in each Township" that would provide elementary education, "and prepare such of them as may require further instruction to receive it in the District Schools."<sup>140</sup> Further, he designated

---

<sup>134</sup> Houston and Prentice, 26.

<sup>135</sup> As quoted in Houston and Prentice, 27.

<sup>136</sup> Houston and Prentice, 27.

<sup>137</sup> Houston and Prentice, 26.

<sup>138</sup> Houston and Prentice, 29.

<sup>139</sup> Jesse Edgar Middleton and Fred Landon, "Primary and Secondary Schools," *The Province of Ontario: A History, 1615-1927*, v 1 (Toronto, 1927), 569.

<sup>140</sup> Middleton and Landon, 569.

the need for a "Provincial Seminary for the youth who may be destined for the professions or other distinguished walks of life...."<sup>141</sup> The King's directive was quite similar to Article IX, Section 2 of Indiana's 1816 State Constitution. It echoed Indiana politicians' plan of a graded system of schools from elementary through higher education. By calling for a school in each township, it also indicated that all Upper Canadian subjects should have access to schooling, not those alone who lived close by or who could afford to travel and pay tuition to the eight district schools.

Acting upon the King's speech, the Upper Canadian government wrote the School Act of 1816. Historians Jesse Edgar Middleton and Fred Landon mark this as the "real beginning of the Public School system of the Province of Ontario."<sup>142</sup> The bill, which appropriated 6,000 pounds from school land reserves for common schools, stipulated that "As soon as a competent number of persons should unite to build or provide a schoolhouse and engage to furnish twenty pupils or more, they were empowered to name three trustees...."<sup>143</sup> Trustees would appoint, pay and dismiss teachers, and create school regulations, including the choice of books. Trustees were also directed to pay part of the teachers' salaries from funds provided by the parents or community in the township. Teachers must either be natural-born Canadian or British citizens, or must take the oath of allegiance. The school grant was "to be divided among the eight districts on a scale that presumably reflected their estimated populations."<sup>144</sup>

Thus, per Upper Canada's and Indiana's School Acts of 1816, the creation of elementary schools awaited the growth of population in any given area. Indiana's law required twenty households to petition for the establishment of a school, while Upper Canada's bill offered to start paying only after a school building was erected and twenty

---

<sup>141</sup> Middleton and Landon, 569.

<sup>142</sup> Middleton and Landon, 569.

<sup>143</sup> Middleton and Landon, 570.

<sup>144</sup> Houston and Prentice, 28.

pupils were secured. Both laws empowered three local trustees to set the rules and regulations for the school. However, while Indiana's trustees were to be appointed by county sheriffs, Upper Canada's trustees would be chosen by the people in each school community. Moreover, Upper Canada's bill went further to systematize schools by stating that trustees would hire only British subjects as teachers, pay them partially from state and partially from private funds, and govern the use of school books. These additional stipulations reflect the fact that Upper Canada had some experience in creating a public school system that Indiana lacked. They also reflect the Upper Canadian government's concern with providing education suitable for British-Canadian subjects. In general, differences in the two 1816 school acts point out the different approaches of the two young political entities. Indiana's republican-democratic state spawned a decentralized, grass-roots approach to the creation of a school system, wherein local citizens initiated the erection of schools, and townships administered their own school funds; whereas Upper Canada's monarch-led democratic colony garnered a more centralized school system initiated and administered by locals, but governed by provincial regulations and appropriations. At the same time, the similarities of the two systems show these experiences to be part of the history of the English world that supplied patterns for new organizations. Furthermore, both neophyte school systems were part of evolutionary processes that were creating public school systems in the western world.

In 1821, Indiana politicians made their first attempt to revise the 1816 school law so as to fulfill the language of the state's constitution. They appointed a seven-member committee of civic leaders, but not legislators, to draft a bill for a "general system of education" to be "equally open to all," and to "guard against any distinctions existing in any of the said institutions between the rich and the poor."<sup>145</sup> Although it addressed county seminaries and a state university, the subsequent report "principally considered the

---

<sup>145</sup> Boone, 23-24.

prospects for common schools or elementary education."<sup>146</sup> It recommended selling the school lands on credit through a state land office so that in six years each district could pay for school teachers for three months per year from the equally-distributed proceeds. "Meager taxation" would provide enough money to erect and maintain school buildings. The proposal also included a clause regarding certification and inspection of teachers, and the stipulation that unqualified teachers would not be paid from township funds.<sup>147</sup>

In 1824 the General Assembly acted upon this report by passing a comprehensive common schools bill. By this law three householders or freeholders could call a township meeting. Twenty such people could elect three township trustees in whom the proceeds from the school lands would be vested. The trustees would divide the township into school districts and appoint three sub-trustees for each district. The district trustees would then call together a meeting of householders and freeholders who would vote as to whether or not they would support a public school for at least three months per year. If the majority voted "Yes," then the district trustees would select a site for the schoolhouse and supervise its construction. "Every 'able bodied male' freeholder or householder, twenty-one or above" would assist this construction with labor, building materials or money.<sup>148</sup> District trustees also would take votes to determine if support for the school would be raised in taxes of labor, material and money, or if in taxes of labor and material alone. Township trustees would be responsible for examining teacher qualifications. In addition, teachers must report student attendance so that the township trustees could distribute revenue from the township school funds to the districts based on the length of the school terms and the number of pupils in attendance.<sup>149</sup> One year later, Indiana's legislature "directed the district trustees to list and value taxable property within their

---

<sup>146</sup> Carmony, 365.

<sup>147</sup> Carmony, 366.

<sup>148</sup> Carmony, 367.

<sup>149</sup> Carmony, 367.

district. If necessary to fulfill the contract with the teacher, such property could be taxed annually not to exceed "25 cents a year per \$100 of taxable property."<sup>150</sup>

Indiana's 1824 school bill failed for a variety of reasons. First, the state lacked the funds to establish the system. Rental income from school lands had been scant.

"Unimproved land often went without renters in a region of abundant cheap land... the capital did not generate enough interest to begin a common-school program."<sup>151</sup> The U. S. Congress realized this failure in the mid-1820s and "authorized the sale of school lands to establish permanent school funds."<sup>152</sup>

The bill also failed because the school funds were distributed inequitably. The legislators of 1824 ignored the recommendation of the education committee of 1821 to sell the state's school lands and distribute the funds equally throughout the state. Instead, each township's trustees sold the township's school land and administered the fund. Because of this, historian Donald F. Carmony argues that "The so-called Congressional Township Fund in some ways hindered the development of common schools."<sup>153</sup> In 1853 State School Superintendent William C. Larrabee poetically described the problem: "In one township the [school] section falls on the prairies of the Wabash, where the soil is the richest ever shone on by the sun or wet by the dews of heaven; in another it falls in the swamp or a lake, or on a rocky bluff, where six grasshoppers could not find a living."<sup>154</sup>

Another reason for the failure of the 1824 bill was trustees who mismanaged the school funds out of ignorance, or who stole the funds outright.<sup>155</sup> At the 1850-1851 Indiana State Constitution Convention, the committee on education reported that "the

---

<sup>150</sup> Carmony, 368.

<sup>151</sup> Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 184. Kaestle was speaking about the Midwest in general in this passage.

<sup>152</sup> Kaestle, 184.

<sup>153</sup> Carmony, 370.

<sup>154</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 370.

<sup>155</sup> Monroe, 310-313. Also, Boone, 26; and Kaestle, 184.

greater part of \$30,000 of the [school] fund was lost beyond recovery."<sup>156</sup>

Representative Othniel L. Clark of Tippecanoe County explained that "the friends of education... said the school fund was so sacred that it was right to loan it at 10 per cent., although individuals could receive but six. The result was the obvious and natural one: those who borrowed these funds were embarrassed or improvident, and consequently their lands were sold under the mortgages given to secure such loans. In other words, the money was lost."<sup>157</sup>

On the other hand, even had Indiana townships procured sufficient school funds, wisely invested them, and honestly distributed them, the impetus to follow the guidelines set forth in the 1824 school law resided with the people in each township. Early historians, frustrated by the slow development of education blame both the permissiveness of the 1824 school bill, and the disinterest of the pioneers for the bill's failure to create universal, standardized schools. Boone states that "Every best offer of the state was subject to rejection at the hands of some ignorant or indifferent community."<sup>158</sup> Monroe contends that community disinterest allowed for "carelessness and incompetence, even dishonesty... in the administration of the [school] funds."<sup>159</sup> Boone calls the challenges of survival "not more important, but more clamorous interests," than education.

But, early in Indiana's history, most people in the townships were too busy just trying to survive to avail themselves of the government's school initiatives. More recent historians, such as Carmony, acknowledge that the "severe hardships and privations of pioneer life" delayed Indiana's residents from acting upon the earliest school laws.<sup>160</sup>

---

<sup>156</sup> *Reports of the Debates and Proceedings of the Convention for the Revision of the Constitution of the State of Indiana, 1850* (Indianapolis, 1935), 1860 [hereafter referred to as *Debates, Indiana*].

<sup>157</sup> *Debates, Indiana*, 1881.

<sup>158</sup> Boone, 26-27.

<sup>159</sup> Monroe, 311.

<sup>160</sup> Carmony, 369.

Kaestle adds another reason for the inhabitants' failure to act upon the schools bills. He asserts that "people resisted state involvement in local education, and they resisted new taxes."<sup>161</sup> This view, if accurate, reveals a very different pioneer population from Boone's "indifferent" early Indiana residents. It shows a group that was actively interested in maintaining personal and local control over their children's education, and that, therefore, rebuffed state and federal attempts to engage them in creating state networks of government-controlled schools. Scholarship has yet to prove this theory for the first three decades of Indiana history, but evidence for the 1840s to 1860s depicts a strong, vocal minority opposed to the initial state school system due to preference for local authority.

However, even when schools were created, the trustees neglected to fulfill their official duties regarding teacher qualifications. Teacher licensing tests were "very simple, as a rule, while in many cases the license might be had for the asking."<sup>162</sup> This inaction served to nullify the part of the 1824 bill aimed at raising and standardizing the quality of teachers. Thus, because of a lack of funding and unequal access to funding at the legislative level, and inadequate community interest at the local and private levels, the public school system in Indiana developed haltingly, and unevenly. It provided a good start for a few widely scattered schools, and very little, if anything, elsewhere. At mid-century when politicians and educators sought in earnest to legislate a state system of public schools, funding, distribution of funding, and community interest proved to be the most salient challenges to their goal.

Slightly ahead of Indiana in the development of a public school system, Upper Canada's legislature acted already during the 1820s to alleviate some of the defects associated with their 1816 school bill. Like Indiana, the colony faced problems with funding, and problems arising from human indifference. According to subsequent

---

<sup>161</sup> Kaestle, 186.

<sup>162</sup> Boone, 25.

revisions of the school law, the Upper Canadian government relied upon more government control at higher levels, including more stringent control of the purse strings at the provincial level, to right the errors of its original school bills. In 1819, the government passed the Grammar School Amendment Act, which "introduced obligatory annual reports and public examinations and also made provision for ten free scholars in each district school."<sup>163</sup> The latter provision was suggested by one of Upper Canada's leading educators, Anglican minister and schoolmaster John Strachan, who had lobbied for the scholarships in 1815 and 1819. Strachan's background in the democratic Scottish education tradition might have been the reason that he argued for the scholarships. In 1819, Strachan stated that "the door to a liberal education would be opened to the poorer inhabitants, and we might live to see the children of the farmer and mechanic filling the highest offices in the Colony, to which they had arisen by their superior talents, fostered by the benevolent institutions of their country."<sup>164</sup>

The year after the 1819 amendment, Upper Canada addressed reports of local corruption involving the school funds by drastically reducing the annual common school grant from 6,000 to 2,500 pounds.<sup>165</sup> Next, the Executive Council established a General Board of Education in 1822-1823. The Council appointed six Anglicans to the Board with Strachan as the Chairman. "The main interest of the board was the administration of the province's reserved school lands."<sup>166</sup> Other than administering the lands, the board also promoted a provincial university, and dispensed minor amounts of money to buy religious books for poor children.<sup>167</sup> The School Act of 1824 officially recognized the

---

<sup>163</sup> Houston and Prentice, 29.

<sup>164</sup> As quoted in George W. Spragge, "John Strachan's Contribution to Education, 1800-1823," *Historical Essays on Upper Canada*, ed. J. K. Johnson (Toronto, 1975), 82.

<sup>165</sup> Houston and Prentice, 29.

<sup>166</sup> Houston and Prentice, 30.

<sup>167</sup> Houston and Prentice, 30.



board as "part of the school system of the province."<sup>168</sup> This act also required teachers to be examined for qualifications before the district boards, "grants being conditioned upon the character and efficiency of the teachers as shown by the examinations."<sup>169</sup>

The changes that colonial politicians made to the 1816 School Act between 1819-1824 achieved much in the way of ensuring that school funds were not distributed to schools that did not meet the requirements stipulated in 1816 and in the various amendments. An increasing number of common schools received grant monies throughout the colony, as well. However, the school legislation could neither ensure that its regulations were followed in schools throughout Upper Canada, nor could it endow schools enough for all Upper Canada's children. The reasons for Upper Canada's failure to provide a comprehensive school system at this point coincide with the reasons Indiana did not yet have a workable system of schools throughout the state. First, the Upper Canadian government did not provide enough funding for schools, particularly after the government cut the annual grant by two-thirds. Although mismanagement of school funds had been addressed in various ways in the amendments up to 1824, school land reserves could not generate sufficient funds because land was cheap and plentiful. In an Executive Council report dated April 29, 1831, J[ames] Baby, Chairman, explained that in 1798 had the entire endowment been sold, it "would not have furnished a sum sufficient for the decent support of two Grammar Schools." Continuing, he stated "that so long as millions of acres were in course of grant (which was the case till 1828) by the Crown in fee simple for almost nothing, and more than half the population were entitled from various causes to gratuitous grants, no Lands could be sold for any price near their value."<sup>170</sup>

---

<sup>168</sup> Fred Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier* (Toronto, 1941), 67.

<sup>169</sup> Landon, 67.

<sup>170</sup> Public Archives of Canada, RG 1, E 3, "Education: Upper Canada," v. 82, Report of the Executive Council to the Lt. Governor, p. 99-100.

The lack of sufficient funding drove many district boards of education to either appropriate substantial amounts of money to a few schools, or to spread the money thinly among as many schools as possible. The Home District chose the former policy "on the grounds that a few well-paid teachers would produce better schools than a multitude of badly paid and hence incompetent ones."<sup>171</sup> When the money was widely distributed in a district, "individual payments might amount to as little as five pounds or less annually."<sup>172</sup> Many teachers refused to travel to district board meetings for examination to receive such squalid amounts.<sup>173</sup>

Lack of funding was not the only basis for indifference about the school laws. In much of Upper Canada parents enjoyed choices about where to send their children to school. Education scholar R. D. Gidney explains that although "there is no means of measuring in any exact way the number of non-aided schools... there is a substantial amount of evidence to suggest that, from 1816 until the early 1840s, the non-aided schools were as numerous, or nearly so, as those that received government aid."<sup>174</sup> Non-aided schools ranged from Sunday and evening schools for the very poor to private instruction and expensive academies for the very wealthy. Because they received no government support, these institutions or individual teachers were not bound by the school acts' regulations. Therefore, many teachers in non-aided schools were unqualified either academically or because they were not British citizens. "In many a case only one man [or woman] would be available to teach the children. Failing him, the alternative was no school at all."<sup>175</sup> This was especially true in the poorer, rural areas. Here many schools

---

<sup>171</sup> R. D. Gidney, "Elementary Education in Upper Canada: A Reassessment," *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*, eds. Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly (New York, 1975), 8.

<sup>172</sup> Gidney, 8.

<sup>173</sup> Gidney, 8.

<sup>174</sup> Gidney, 6.

<sup>175</sup> Middleton and Landon, 570.

also went without aid because they could not meet attendance requirements or stay open the required number of months in the year.<sup>176</sup>

On the other hand, wealthier people often chose to send their children to non-aided schools in hopes that they would receive a better education, or because they desired their children to mingle with children from similar social backgrounds. In December 1827, Hamnett Pinhey, who became the District School Superintendent of Dalhousie during the 1840s, learned that some Upper Canadians preferred to school their children with only children of the upper classes.<sup>177</sup> After recommending to the housekeeper of a Captain Weatherley that she send her son to the school of Mrs. T. Read, he received two stinging replies. The first came from Mrs. T. Read who stated "that when she opened a study for the benefit of her own children & those of her immediate neighbours (her equals) she did not open a charity school."<sup>178</sup> The second was from [Enau] Read who declared that "a pang went to my heart that you should for a moment encourage the presumption of the woman [housekeeper] to think that her son is a fit school companion for my Daughters." Continuing, he complained "the lower class are sufficiently inclined to an equality[,] you have now lent them your authority to lower us...."<sup>179</sup>

So, like Indiana, Upper Canada's school system in the 1820s provided only uneven educational opportunities because the government did not provide the funds to do more, and because its citizens were not sufficiently interested in developing a system that provided financial support and consistent regulations in every school. Moreover, the wealthy had no interest in a public school system for all. As in 1816, differences existed

---

<sup>176</sup> Gidney, 7.

<sup>177</sup> Curtis supplies a short biography and photograph of Pinhey in *True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education, and State Formation in Canada West* (Toronto, 1992), Introduction, between 14 and 15.

<sup>178</sup> Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, I 9, Hill Collection, v. 9, Mrs. T. Read to Mr. [Hamnett] Pinkey [sic], Dec. 3, 1827, p. 2687.

<sup>179</sup> Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, I 9, Hill Collection, v. 9, [Enau] Read to Mr. [Hamnett] Pinkey [sic], Dec. 12, 1827, p. 2692-2693.

between the systems in Indiana and Upper Canada because of inherent differences between republican and monarchical regimes. The colony's political structure functioned more smoothly at this point because it was more hierarchical and less democratic. If the Lt. Governor wanted school regulations enacted, the Executive Council would generally try to accommodate him, and neither he nor the Council required the assent of the Lower House, which represented the common colonist and non-Anglicans. This top-down approach correlates with the Upper Canadians being more class-conscious than people in Indiana. It also explains why Upper Canada's growing school system was increasingly regulated from an upper tier of administration, in the 1820s, a general board of education consisting of six Anglicans from the semi-established church of the colony, appointed by the Council. This contrasts with Indiana where elected township trustees and the district trustees they appointed performed all the administrative tasks for schools within the state system in the 1820s. Other differences between the two school systems, just like in 1816, stemmed from Upper Canada's more extensive administrative experience. While Indiana established a process for distributing township school funds in the 1820s, Upper Canada strove to repair problems with its distributive policies of 1816. While Indiana instituted regulations regarding teacher qualifications, school term lengths and pupil attendance, Upper Canada added to and modified similar regulations from its former policy.

#### The Idea of Public Education Takes Root: Common Schools, 1824-1837

Neither Indiana's nor Upper Canada's earliest public school systems worked effectively, matched the emerging values of the two state's citizenries, or met the growing needs of the two governments. Proof of this fact appeared in letters, petitions, newspaper and periodical articles, school reports, census reports and political addresses over the decades following the passage of the 1816 school acts. As Chapter 2 describes, the histories of the young state and colony were fraught with the demands of burgeoning populaces, the development of agriculture and commerce, struggling new financial

institutions, and building transportation facilities and other infrastructure vital for the economic health of the realms. In both places, educational concerns had to be constantly weighed against a plethora of expanding necessities. Later, when education showed that it would benefit the countries in meeting some of their more salient needs, politicians paused to listen, and many joined the growing ranks of public school advocates.

But, as patronage by social, political and economic elites grew, so did the controversy over publicly-supported, state-regulated schooling. Civic debates transpired on two levels. Externally, some residents argued the wisdom of giving the government the power to systematize schools, and legislators argued about different ways to organize schools if the governments obtained that power. On a more subtle, but very effective level, many people in Indiana and Upper Canada bogged down the process of institutionalizing schools by passively-resisting legislative actions concerning schools in their locales.<sup>180</sup> To put it simply, some from the ranks of the common people failed to comply with laws designed to create school systems; and this passive resistance contributed to the slowness with which comprehensive school systems were created. The period from the late 1820s until the late 1830s was characterized by these two movements. Backing for public education grew among politicians, social leaders and educators who argued for universal, well-regulated schools. At the same time, legislative efforts, supported by parents and local school authorities, moved towards decentralized frameworks for public schooling.

However, after the passage of the first school acts, the most ostensible reason that Indiana and Upper Canada developed public school systems slowly and gradually was due to insufficient funds. In neither area was the legislated school land grant ever adequate to build and maintain the structure for public schools, from school houses and teachers to

---

<sup>180</sup> For a detailed discussion regarding the phenomenon of passive resistance, see James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven and London, 1985), especially p. 36.

local and state bureaucracies. Consequently, politicians in Indiana and Upper Canada addressed the school issue over and over during the first half of the nineteenth century, adding to, subtracting from and modifying existing systems.

During the next decade in the development of public schools, the northern colony's government paused its production of school bills while fractious political disputes led Upper and Lower Canadians to the "Rebellion" of 1837. Meanwhile, Indiana politicians passed numerous provisions for public schools touching upon both the financial and the regulatory aspects of education. An 1831 bill echoed the 1824 act, and added "a school commissioner for each county, whose function was that of a financial agent for the local school corporations."<sup>181</sup> By this bill, voters in each district were to determine if a tax would be levied for a school, and the amount of the tax. However, even if the voters levied a tax it was not mandatory to pay it.<sup>182</sup> In an attempt to provide for schools where residents had not taken the initiative, the 1831 bill also stated that "in congressional townships not having elected township trustees, the county board was to provide for the election of three trustees" who would perform the duties ascribed to the township trustees in the 1824 law.<sup>183</sup>

In 1832, Indiana lawmakers increased the funding for schools by authorizing "the State Legislature to sell the salt lands granted to the State in 1816 and appropriate the proceeds to the support of common schools."<sup>184</sup> It also ordered the sale of lands belonging to non-residents whose taxes were delinquent so this revenue, too, could become part of a state fund for education.<sup>185</sup>

An 1833 Act, which incorporated congressional townships and contained 205 sections, gave to district trustees important duties that township trustees had formerly

---

<sup>181</sup> Boone, 31.

<sup>182</sup> Boone, 31. Carmony, 368.

<sup>183</sup> Carmony, 367.

<sup>184</sup> Boone, 31.

<sup>185</sup> Boone, 31-32.

performed or supervised. After 1833, district trustees enumerated children in three age groupings: 1) those under five years, 2) those five to fourteen years, and 3) those from fourteen to twenty-one. District trustees also examined teachers for qualifications, and acted as employers for the teachers.<sup>186</sup> One other notable addition to the 1833 Act was the instruction that "each householder was left to fulfill his own 'contract with the teacher for tuition, fuel and contingencies.'"<sup>187</sup> By these provisions the 1833 Act replaced a township system with a district system; and consequently substantially decentralized Indiana's public school system.<sup>188</sup> This decentralization brought Indiana's system into line with the majority of the American Northwest states' systems.<sup>189</sup>

Following the major school bill of 1833, state lawmakers at the 1834 legislative session chartered two institutions for the instruction of teachers: the Indiana Teachers' Seminary at Madison, and the Wabash Manual Labor College and Teachers' Seminary at Crawfordsville.<sup>190</sup> It also provided a law that "made it easier for students to attend school." If a district had no common school, students could attend the closest school, and "funds from their township common school fund would be transferred to the fund of the township where they attended class."<sup>191</sup> Also, some denominational schools, such as the Society of Friends, were recognized as public schools, and "granted their pro-rata use of the public funds and the privileges of the civil machinery."<sup>192</sup> In 1836, the liberal use of school funds extended even to the single householder who, if district trustees had failed to be elected, could hire a qualified teacher who would be paid his or her share from township funds.<sup>193</sup> From this step, "decentralization could go no further."<sup>194</sup>

---

<sup>186</sup> Boone, 32.

<sup>187</sup> Boone, 33.

<sup>188</sup> Monroe, 290-291.

<sup>189</sup> Monroe, 277.

<sup>190</sup> Carmony, 372.

<sup>191</sup> Bachelder, 8.

<sup>192</sup> Boone, 35.

<sup>193</sup> Boone, 34. Monroe, 290.

Both Boone and Carmony credit the upsurge of legislative interest in the 1830s to growing support for public education. This support derived from politicians, educators, ministers, and business and social leaders. The year following the 1824 School Act, Governor James B. Ray strongly urged the Indiana General Assembly to support a public school system by providing the financial means necessary to sustain it. The reasons he stated for doing so hearken back to Jefferson's idealism and forward to practical arguments that eventually persuaded Indiana to enact a comprehensive and workable school plan.

There is no subject more worthy the attention of the representatives of a free people than that of providing means for the education of all classes of society, rich and poor together, in the same manner, at the same school. Nor is there a more effective method of suppressing vice and giving countenance to and encouraging the principles of humanity, industry, and morality; nor is there any better method of bringing native genius to light and usefulness. It is one of the first duties of a government as well as of an individual to provide the means necessary for their own existence. It has been well said that 'knowledge is power,' and that 'ignorance is a footstool to despotism.' Ours is, emphatically, a government of the people, and its very existence depends upon their virtue and intelligence. A well-educated people will always be virtuous. They only need to know their rights to protect and defend them.<sup>195</sup>

Ray's successor, Governor Noah Noble, also advocated an effective school system in his inaugural address in 1831.

Besides political backing at state level, there were at least four reasons why public interest in a state school system grew steadily during the 1830s: 1) The state's population almost doubled; 2) The severe hardships of pioneer life were receding into the past; 3) The economy improved considerably between the mid-1820s and 1837; and 4) Support was growing for common schools.<sup>196</sup> The first meeting of the Association for the

---

<sup>194</sup> Monroe, 291.

<sup>195</sup> As quoted in Boone, 27.

<sup>196</sup> Carmony, 369.



Improvement of Common Schools in Indiana on September 3-4, 1833, in Madison, shows proof of the growing sentiment for public schools. Leading citizens attended "who were a mix of Democrats and Whigs, natives of northern and southern states, and representatives... from at least the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist denominations."<sup>197</sup> This group decided that the greatest difficulty in the state's efforts to create public schools "was the '*want of competent teachers of good moral character and respectability....*'"<sup>198</sup> With Governor Noble's support, this group was largely responsible for successfully lobbying for the 1834 bill that established two teachers' training institutes.<sup>199</sup>

Some influential authors, both secular and religious, also began to speak out for public schools in the 1830s. One of these was John B. Dillon, one of Indiana's first historians. In his newspaper, the *Logansport Canal Telegraph*, Dillon made an eloquent plea for schools on November 19, 1836:

If our union is still to continue to cheer the hopes and animate the efforts of the oppressed of every nation; if our fields are to be untrod by the hirelings of despotism; if long days of blessedness are to attend our country in her career of glory; if you would have the sun continue to shed his unclouded rays upon the face of freeman, then EDUCATE ALL THE CHILDREN OF THE LAND. This alone startles the tyrant in his dreams of power, and rouses the slumbering energies of an oppressed people. It was intelligence that reared up the majestic columns of national glory; and this and sound morality alone can prevent their crumbling to ashes.<sup>200</sup>

Despite all the efforts by legislators and civic leaders in the dozen years after the 1824 School Bill, Indiana still could not educate all the children of its land. Inadequate funds and inconsistent application of the laws continued to plague the would-be system. Monroe and Boone both name decentralization as the chief problem by 1836. But, whereas Monroe reasons that transferring control to the smallest public unit was necessary

---

<sup>197</sup> Carmony, 371-2.

<sup>198</sup> Carmony, 371.

<sup>199</sup> Carmony, 372.

<sup>200</sup> Howard H. Peckham, *Indiana: A History* (New York, 1978), 98.

in order to cajole people to support schools in whole or part by taxation, Boone harshly decries the district system.<sup>201</sup> He states that it "opened the way for diversified courses, uncertain school policies, arbitrary management, unequal privileges, local evasions of the law, mismanagement of the funds, etc."<sup>202</sup> Whether decentralization as manifested in the district school system was a necessary step on the path towards public schools or not, Boone certainly described the outcome of the legislative policy accurately enough. And, Monroe is right to state that Indiana residents had to accept responsibility for public schools in order for Indiana to create a workable system. Perhaps the most important aspect of Indiana's evolving school system of the 1830s, then, was the growth of public support among the state's leaders in politics, education, religion, business and society.

Support for a colony-wide educational system was also growing in Upper Canada during the 1830s. But, would-be school law reformers who, like their counterparts in Indiana, were primarily civic, political and religious leaders, differed increasingly during the decade following the 1824 School Bill about the proper approach to changing the system. "Members of the Reform party... more or less consistently sought to create the possibility of an extended elementary education for the population under the control of local property. The Tory party, in contrast... sought to use existing structures of appointive government in the locality to extend an elementary educational system which would be controlled from the centre."<sup>203</sup> In other words, the Reform Party, which included educators, ministers, journalists, and business leaders who were frequently non-Anglican, and from non-Loyalist, poor to middling backgrounds, argued for a system similar to the district school systems that came into vogue in the United States during the 1830s.<sup>204</sup> Tories, on the other hand, who were often Loyalist descendants, Anglican and

---

<sup>201</sup> Monroe, 274.

<sup>202</sup> Boone, 38.

<sup>203</sup> Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London, 1988), 23.

<sup>204</sup> Note: American states were divided into townships and sub-divided into districts.

of the wealthier classes, preferred to continue the Upper Canadian school policy that had worked during the 1820s to place control of education towards the top of colonial government administration. Because Tories and their sympathizers filled the ranks of the Upper Canadian Upper House, the Reformers' legislative efforts in the Lower House were repeatedly vetoed. Thus, little school legislation passed before the civil unrest of 1837 in which radical Reformers attempted, but failed, at violent, republican revolution.

Interested Upper Canadians did, however, write reports about schools and offer suggestions for legislation. As chairman of the general board of education, Tory Party member Strachan visited the district schools in 1828. The following year he reported to the board on the state of education in the colony. Strachan was "struck by the lack of uniformity among the schools and the inexperience of the younger masters."<sup>205</sup> He declared that "good public schools were essential to the peace, good order and prosperity of society"; and that neither 'the sick nor the destitute' had greater claims on the public purse than 'the ignorant.'<sup>206</sup> In this report, Strachan argued for a curriculum based first on "Christian virtue" and second on "useful knowledge," and taught in standard form throughout Upper Canada. He also recommended local taxation in return for government aid as several American states' school systems had adopted.<sup>207</sup>

The next year the House of Commons received a petition from the inhabitants of Oxford County regarding common schools, which was referred to a House Committee for investigation. As chair of this committee, Reform Party member Charles Duncombe reported on December 26, 1830, that "the Common Schools of this Province are generally in so deplorable a state that they scarcely deserve the name of Schools."<sup>208</sup> Stating that

---

Upper Canada, on the other hand, was divided into districts that were then further divided into townships.

<sup>205</sup> As quoted in Houston and Prentice, 31.

<sup>206</sup> As quoted in Houston and Prentice, 31.

<sup>207</sup> Houston and Prentice, 31.

<sup>208</sup> Public Archives of Canada, MG 23, H II 6, William von Moll Berczy Collection, v. 4,

inadequate funding was the heart of the problem, Duncombe recommended "the revision of the Common School law." He and the committee conceived of a "simple, clear and efficient " plan that would divide the school money equally among the children who were taught by district certified teachers, and that would pay the money directly to these teachers. The committee report also stated that common school teachers should be paid respectably "so that Common School teaching instead of being a mere matter of convenience to transient persons... would become a regular respectable business."<sup>209</sup> Subsequent to this report, and upon its suggestion, the House of Assembly petitioned Lt. Governor Sir John Colborne to request that the King "place at the disposal, or transfer to the care of the provincial Legislature 1,000,000 of acres of waste lands of the Crown, as a permanent fund for the support of common schools within this province."<sup>210</sup>

The House of Assembly followed this petition with a "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Education Throughout the Province" in 1831. This bill, which never became law, stipulated a graduated sum of school monies to be paid by Upper Canada's Receiver General to the townships according to the number of residents in each. It called for an annual township census. It provided for the election by householders of three superintendents per township who would disburse school monies and provide annual school reports. The superintendents would choose one of their number to act as an elector who would attend a district-wide meeting of such electors in order to pick five persons from among the body to serve as a district board of education. The district boards, acting as district trustees, would be responsible for authorizing a pay schedule for the townships, and, by examining township superintendent reports, for writing an annual

---

Report of the Select Committee to which was referred the petition of David Burns, and Others, Inhabitants of the County of Oxford, regarding substantially increased funding for common schools, and draft of an address to the King requesting same, Dec. 26, 1830, p. 868.

<sup>209</sup> MG 23, H II 6, v. 4, Report of the Select Committee, p. 868.

<sup>210</sup> MG 23, H II 6, v. 4, Draft of an address to the King, p. 869.

"general report of the state of Education within the District." In addition, township superintendents and members of district boards of education would be compensated for their work.<sup>211</sup>

During the period in which the House of Commons produced these unsuccessful reports, petitions, and legislative documents, the Lt. Governor with Executive Council assistance, worked on schemes for funding schools. One involved the transfer of school lands that had not yet been sold for lands of a higher value. This plan also included measures that would create a new general board of education consisting of members of the district boards of education, and it would divide the interest income from the school lands equally among the districts so as to provide uniformity among the district schools.<sup>212</sup> The proposal met with mixed responses from the district trustees who were asked by the Lt. Governor to comment upon it. While generally in favor of more valuable school lands, and a new representative board of education, the trustees differed over the distribution of funds. For instance, Midland District Trustees claimed that "older and more populous portions of the Province require[d] more immediate and exclusive provision for the purposes of Education than others."<sup>213</sup> In contrast, Western District Trustees stated that the school funds should be distributed in 50 pound allotments to teachers "who should be

---

<sup>211</sup> Public Archives of Canada, MG 23, H II 6, William von Moll Berczy Collection, v. 4, House of Assembly "Bill for the more General Diffusion of Education throughout the Province," 1831, 5 p.

<sup>212</sup> Public Archives of Canada, RG 1, E 3, Education: Upper Canada, v. 82, Recommendation of Lt. Governor [Major John Colborne] that school lands not yet sold be exchanged for lands of higher value, with cover ordering same, May 30, 1831, p. 115-117. See also all correspondence regarding schools in v. 82.

<sup>213</sup> Public Archives of Canada, RG 1, E 3, Education: Upper Canada, v. 82, Letters from Boards of Trustees of Ottawa, Western, Niagara, London and Midland Districts to Edw[ar]d McMahon, Acting Secretary to the Lt. Governor, with responses to the Lt. Governor's suggestions to alter land reserves to increase the school endowment, and to create a General Board of Education to include some members of each of the district boards, June-Aug. 1831, p. 19.

located in some central part of as many Townships as could be provided for, until Every Township could have a Teacher."<sup>214</sup>

The school legislation of 1833, which was passed and enacted by the Upper House, addressed two of the Lt. Governor's proposals. First, the government grant for schools was raised to 5,560 pounds.<sup>215</sup> Although this amount fell short of the original 1816 grant allotment, it more than doubled the 1824 provision of 2,500 pounds. Second, the legislation abolished the general board of education in reaction to the House of Assembly's bitter criticism that it was Anglican-controlled, and that it mismanaged the lands at its disposal.<sup>216</sup> The 1833 legislation was the only school legislation enacted in Upper Canada during the 1830s. Houston states that subsequent to it, "control over common school affairs continued to be exercised informally, but practically, by the Council of King's College."<sup>217</sup> Historian Bruce Curtis contradicts this assessment, asserting that after "the General Board was disbanded... the relative autonomy of District Boards of Education [was] restored."<sup>218</sup> Such disparate remarks by two of the most prolific historians of Upper Canada's educational past indicate that the evidence suggests that control over common schools was under dispute during the 1830s. And indeed, tensions over who was to govern public schools rose in the Upper Canadian Parliament until the Rebellion of 1837. It was part of the growing confrontation between republican-bent Reformers who filled Assembly seats and took up the cause of the district boards of education, and elite, conservative Tories who sat in both the Upper House of Parliament and the Council of King's College.

---

<sup>214</sup> RG 1, E 3, v. 82, Letters from Board of Trustees, p. 7.

<sup>215</sup> Susan E. Houston, "Politics, Schools, and Social Change in Upper Canada," *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*, eds. Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly (New York, 1975), 31.

<sup>216</sup> Curtis, 23. Also, see Houston, 31.

<sup>217</sup> Houston, 31.

<sup>218</sup> Curtis, 23.

Between the school legislation of 1833 and the Rebellion of 1837, the single-most important event concerning public schools was the Duncombe report.<sup>219</sup> The report was initiated by the House of Assembly in 1835 just as the Legislative Council was vetoing another Assembly school bill for its democratic features.<sup>220</sup> The Assembly appointed Charles Duncombe, Thomas Morrison and William Bruce to inquire "into the organization and management of systems of college and elementary education."<sup>221</sup> Duncombe was "a medical doctor, a member of the left wing of the Reform party, and the leader of the rebels in the Western District in 1837."<sup>222</sup> Prior to the Rebellion, Duncombe embarked on a tour of the United States "to investigate and report upon the organization of various educational institutions, including prisons, asylums, penitentiaries and public schools."<sup>223</sup> His subsequent report and accompanying legislation were not acted upon by the Upper Canadian legislature due to the outbreak of the Rebellion in 1837. However, they "contained a wide-ranging analysis of the social necessity of education and of the means to reconstruct it."<sup>224</sup>

In his report, Duncombe gave five major reasons for the necessity of creating a state-wide educational system that would include all children at the earliest level of schooling, and provide consistency in curriculum, teaching method and quality of education across the colony. First, he stressed that common schools must serve as moral and religious agents.<sup>225</sup> The necessity of engendering moral discipline in all Upper Canadians correlated with the other four reasons on which Duncombe based his argument for school reform. Moral discipline was vital for government security. "In a 'free' state

---

<sup>219</sup> Curtis, 25-36. Houston, 32-37. Landon, 67-68.

<sup>220</sup> Curtis, 25-26. Houston, 32.

<sup>221</sup> Curtis, 25.

<sup>222</sup> Curtis, 26.

<sup>223</sup> Curtis, 26.

<sup>224</sup> Curtis, 26.

<sup>225</sup> Curtis, 26-27. Houston, 35.



like that of the colony, 'the welfare and safety of the Government depend upon the national character of the inhabitants...[which] depends upon their National Education.'"226 Duncombe argued that moral education was important in combating growing societal vices, too, especially juvenile crime, which arose from the poverty of landless laborers, parents who were ignorant, indifferent, and often drunk.

'Every person that frequents the streets of this city [Toronto] must be forcibly struck with the ragged and uncleanly appearance, the vile language, and the idle and miserable habits of numbers of children, most of whom are of an age suitable for schools, or for some useful employment. The parents of these children are, in all probability, too poor, or too degenerate to provide them with clothing fit for them to be seen in at school; and know not where to place them in order that they may find employment, or be better cared for.'227

Duncombe declared that juvenile delinquents constituted "'a class whose increasing numbers and deplorable situation loudly calls for more effective interposition, and the benevolent interference of the legislature.'"228

Duncombe's agitation for school reform originated in his preoccupation with "the new political and economic conditions in Upper Canada and throughout the world."229 Just as moral discipline spread through schooling would teach Upper Canadians to be good citizens in a free society, it would "meet the challenges to the structure of society provoked by what Duncombe called the 'interests of commerce.'" Inevitably the growth of commerce based on capitalist rather than mercantilist philosophy; that is, individual rather than national wealth, would result in the growth of a middle class, a bourgeoisie. Duncombe stated that social relations in this bourgeoisie "demanded that 'an army of faithful, intelligent, enterprising, benevolent men' be 'trained up, and sent forth to be

---

226 As quoted in Curtis, 27.

227 As quoted in Houston, 34.

228 Houston, 34.

229 Houston, 33.



leaders in the great enterprises of the day."<sup>230</sup> Moreover, the moral discipline taught in schools was "to encourage social mobility." "'Men' were to be encouraged to develop the 'habit of self-dependence.' They were to be impressed with the fact that social position came not from birth or inheritance. Rather, if a person were to be 'ever anything he must make himself.'"<sup>231</sup>

In order to meet the needs of a free and capitalist society, to provide the moral discipline necessary for social reform and social mobility, Duncombe's report recommended several changes to existing school policy. These "included local taxation for school purposes, elective school boards, inspection of and training of teachers, and prescribed textbooks."<sup>232</sup> Financial concerns were overriding. Duncombe argued that funds for the schools "should be sufficient to interest all classes of the community in endeavoring to avail themselves of them...."<sup>233</sup> For legislation, he proposed that "by dividing the School Grant, to use it as an incentive to local tax support: one half would be paid to each district in proportion to the number of school age children; the other on the basis of money collected by voluntary assessment...."<sup>234</sup>

The Duncombe report and legislation, though never enacted, embodied both compromise and consensus by articulating and supporting many of the ideas about education held by Tories and Reform Party members. Duncombe's tax plan coincided with the prevailing Tory belief that government grants should be supplemented by local taxes in order to adequately fund schools. The proposal of elective (as opposed to appointive)

---

<sup>230</sup> As quoted in Curtis, 28.

<sup>231</sup> Curtis, 28. See also James Love on Michael Katz's interpretive history of Upper Canadian education based on the evolution from a mercantilist to a capitalist, pre-industrial society: James Love, "Anti-American Ideology and Education Reform in 19th Century Upper Canada," *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History*, ed. J. Donald Wilson (Vancouver, 1984), 170-179.

<sup>232</sup> Landon, 67-68.

<sup>233</sup> As quoted in Houston, 36.

<sup>234</sup> Houston, 36.

school boards came directly from the Reform legislation that had never passed. Thus, the Duncombe report and legislation recommended compromise. By the end of the 1830s, politicians and civic and religious leaders from both the Tory and Reform Parties agreed that school reform was desirable. They generally agreed upon the need for increased funding, a higher quality of teaching, the need for the teaching of morality, and the necessity of providing consistency in basic education across school districts. Thus, most of Duncombe's suggestions represented the consensus view of Upper Canadian education reformers. It also stated much of the consensus view of North American education reformers about the reasons to provide public schools: to promote morality and nationalism which would curb crime, safeguard the government and promote industry, and consequently, personal and social wealth.<sup>235</sup>

Comparing the rhetoric and legislative actions of Indiana and Upper Canada in the 1830s highlights the fact that public school creation was a continental phenomenon. Increasingly, funding was seen as imperative by school reformers and common people alike. It was supported by legislative schemes to raise money for schools, including extended government grants and local taxation. Unequal quality in teaching methods and curriculum substance led to arguments by reformers for enhanced teaching standards and inspection, and the beginnings of movements to provide Normal Schools for teacher training. Another important development was the move towards local control of schools, which was legislated by politicians in response to the preferences of local residents. The movement played out to an exaggerated degree in Indiana, and supplied a major source of contention in the civil unrest of 1837 in Upper Canada. Education reformers in Indiana and Upper Canada also argued for comprehensive public school systems for similar reasons. Free societies required public education that instilled an understanding of government processes, and a morally disciplined society. Moral teaching on a state-wide

---

<sup>235</sup> On nationalism, see Love, 170-179.

scale could suppress vice and deter crime, promote a strong work ethic, and give people the skills to materially support themselves.

The first chapter in the creation of public school systems in Indiana and Upper Canada illuminates parallel developments. Before 1816, as these western regions transformed themselves into state and colony, parents provided what education they could afford through private efforts. The American and British governments encouraged education and set aside land that was to be sold to subsidize education, primarily where it already existed. From 1816 throughout the following decade, Indiana and Upper Canada passed the first tenuous laws regarding common schools. The enactment of these bills awaited population growth and depended ultimately upon local initiative. Little progress ensued. As pioneers filled the state and colony, support for education grew. During the decade from 1826 to 1837, private efforts to educate children vied for prominence with public schools. Parents and local school authorities acted upon school legislation, but in halting and inconsistent ways. Their action and non-action showed a desire for basic education and the financial support to provide it, but a strong dislike for government control. Simultaneous to this resistance, state and colonial politicians, social leaders and educators began speaking out for state-regulated systems that would provide universal and standard education for all children.

As the number of laws regarding education in Indiana approached the number of statutes Upper Canada had enacted before the 1830s, the major difference between their two school systems continued to be in their type of organization. Indiana became more grass roots than ever, while, albeit with a fight, Upper Canada remained top-down. This dichotomy differentiated the two societies to lesser degrees over the ensuing years as Indiana and Upper Canada acted to turn ideas about public education into workable, comprehensive systems. Furthermore, as politicians in the state and the colony revamped their original school legislation, from the late 1830s until the early 1850s, the reasons given for these initiatives, the reasons that worked successfully to cajole fellow leading

citizens into vital support for public education systems, echoed back and forth across the borders. The successful arguments revealed similarities in North American lives, attitudes, and rhetoric based on parallel developments: the maturation of government institutions, the evolution of capitalism, the burgeoning influx of foreign immigrants, the transition from pioneer settlements to established communities, and the trends towards mainstream cultures based on a growing middle class and moderate, inclusive religious elements, especially Methodism.<sup>236</sup>

---

<sup>236</sup> For population growth and post-pioneer settlement in Upper Canada, see Houston, 31-32.

## Chapter 4

### The Ideal Becomes Reality:

#### The Creation of Public School Systems in Indiana and Upper Canada, 1836-1852

*The true glory of a people consists in the intelligence and virtue of its individual members, and no more important duty can devolve upon its representatives in their legislative capacity than the devising and perfecting of a wise, liberal, and efficient system of popular education.... It is emphatically a topic which, ably discussed and wisely disposed of, will benefit every part of the State, improve every class in the community, give permanency to our civil and religious institutions, increase the social and literary capital of our citizens, and add materially to the real and substantial happiness of every one.*<sup>237</sup> (Caleb Mills, "An Address to the Legislature of Indiana," Dec. 7, 1846)

*By Education, I mean not the mere acquisition of certain arts, or of certain branches of knowledge, but that instruction and discipline which qualify and dispose the subjects of it for their appropriate duties and appointments in life, as Christians, as persons in business, and also as members of the civil community in which they live.... The branches of knowledge which it is essential that all should understand, should be provided for all, and taught to all; should be brought within the reach of the most needy, and forced upon the attention of the most careless. The knowledge required for the scientific pursuit of mechanics, agriculture, and commerce, must needs be provided to an extent corresponding with the demand, and the exigencies of the country; while, to a more limited extent, are needed facilities for acquiring the higher education for the learned professions.*<sup>238</sup> (Egerton Ryerson, "Report on a System of Public Instruction for Upper Canada," 1846)

---

<sup>237</sup> Quoted in Richard G. Boone, *A History of Education in Indiana* (New York, 1892; repr., Indianapolis, 1941), 92. Originally, Mills signed the Address as from "One of the People," per Boone, 91.

<sup>238</sup> Egerton Ryerson, *The Story of My Life*, (Toronto, 1884), 368.

From the closing decades of the eighteenth century until the end of the 1830s, Indiana and Upper Canada practiced how to develop public school systems. Legislators tried different combinations of regulations and funding schemes to provide schools, particularly elementary schools, where residents wanted them, and where communities were willing to support them. In initially sparsely-settled regions with fledgling government bodies, wherein societal values had yet to be determined, the early school laws were permissive; that is, residents were free to act or to not act upon the laws. They offered educational opportunities to supplement the growing array of pay schools, charity schools, and denominational schools that grew and flourished in pioneer environments and throughout much of the western world. Together these schools provided rudimentary skills of reading, writing and ciphering to growing numbers of children. In 1842, Governor Samuel Bigger stated that 47 percent of Indiana children attended schools, which was "twice the proportion reached under the first school law (1824)."<sup>239</sup> In data from the 1861 census Upper Canadians who received an education in the colony before the 1840s showed an approximate 90 percent literacy rate.<sup>240</sup>

The fact that a variety of schools, including state- or colony-supported schools, were reaching an ever-widening number of children in Indiana and Upper Canada begs two questions: 1) Who were the school reformers? 2) And, why did they seek so fervently for new legislation from the end of the 1830s until state-regulated school systems were achieved in the 1850s? The school reformers comprised well-known ministers, leading businessmen, and college-educated social leaders of all types. Kaestle describes a typical school reformer in the U. S. as a person raised and educated in New England, often times trained as a minister, and a Whig in politics.<sup>241</sup> Gidney and Curtis point out that

---

<sup>239</sup> Boone, 41.

<sup>240</sup> Gidney, "Elementary Education..." (1975), 14-15.

<sup>241</sup> Kaestle, "Public Education in the Old Northwest..." (1988), 67. Cayton, *Frontier Indiana* (Bloomington, 1996), 288-289.

well-educated, Tory sympathizers, including many ministers and other "public men" composed the school reformers of Upper Canada.<sup>242</sup>

School reformers wanted schools to perform duties they deemed much more important than teaching basic skills. They wanted schools to instill agreed-upon moral values--at a time when a cohesive set of moral values was being determined by persons eager to reform society in general. Morality included all the traits associated with it by school advocates in Indiana and Upper Canada during the first third of the nineteenth century. It could cure societal ills like drunkenness, laziness, poverty and crime. It could instill the discipline and knowledge necessary for the new, developing economic system. It could create patriotism and national loyalty, which was considered particularly important because of the growing numbers of foreign immigrants. But, to perform these weighty duties fundamental changes in existing school systems were necessary. Schools must be universally available and compulsory. Their courses of study must be regulated at state level for substance and consistency. And, their teachers must be of a high and uniform quality, able and prepared to inculcate the desired characteristics into their young charges. In order to create systems with these attributes, an educated, state-wide bureaucracy, and substantial and permanent financial support had to be procured. Local administration and government grants could not sustain such a system. So the fight ensued for state control, and mandatory state- or colony-wide taxation.

Public school advocates in Indiana and Upper Canada faced similar challenges as they worked to create more comprehensive school systems during the 1840s and early 1850s. Systems that would financially support and regulate schools across these lands required the cooperation of parents, teachers, school authorities, politicians and communities. But, coercive systems were controversial.<sup>243</sup> School advocates needed to

---

<sup>242</sup> Gidney, 3, 16-21. Curtis, *Building the Educational State...* (London, 1988), 12-20.

<sup>243</sup> Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic...* (New York, 1983), 186.

gather cooperation on the basis of convincing arguments delivered by spokespersons who could argue persuasively. As public school systems moved from ideas to practice in the form of school laws, such spokespersons arose in Europe and in North America. Caleb Mills in Indiana, and Egerton Ryerson in Upper Canada led their public school crusades, but they were effective only after enough society leaders swelled the reform ranks to form supportive movements behind them.<sup>244</sup> The period from the late 1830s through the early 1840s witnessed an expansion of such support in both places. Public education became a hot issue at this time, paving the way for the realization of public school systems at the beginning of the 1850s.

#### The Growth of Support for Public School Systems in Indiana and Upper Canada, 1836-1843

The reform movement in Indiana expanded in the last years of the 1830s. On January 3-4, 1837, approximately 250 public school advocates, calling themselves the "friends of Common Education" attended a convention in Indianapolis. "Whigs and Democrats, natives of both southern and northern states, and leaders from the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists were there."<sup>245</sup> The convention was chaired by Governor Noble, Andrew Wylie, President of Indiana College, and Indiana Supreme Court Judge Isaac Blackford. "The convention resolved 'that a good common education has the highest claims upon our attention, inasmuch as it lays the surest foundation for civil liberty, social order and private happiness.'"<sup>246</sup>

The friends of Common Education requested the General Assembly to enact several changes in school laws. They asked for a "Board of Public Instruction, comprised of a member from each judicial district" who would be responsible for education in his

---

<sup>244</sup> Many ideas in this introductory section regarding Indiana support Cayton, 287-290.

<sup>245</sup> Carmony, *Indiana, 1816-1850...* (Indianapolis, 1998), 373.

<sup>246</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 373.



district. The board would meet at least annually to make recommendations about education to the State Legislature. They asked for extensive information about schools, teachers, and expenses on the reports by the county boards of examiners. They suggested that no teachers collect debts due them by the state unless they were licensed by the county examiners who were to compose the board of public instruction. They wanted all surplus state revenue to go to district schools and county seminaries. They stated that schools should be open four months each year, and that teachers should be examined for "'moral character, and [their] ability to teach reading, writing, English grammar, geography and arithmetic.'" In addition, they requested that school money "'be apportioned' to districts according to their number of children 'between 5 and 20' years of age."<sup>247</sup> These recommendations were based on the Prussian school system. The convention advanced them, stating that "such schools 'are necessary for the education of our future statesmen, our lawyers, our physicians, our divines, and our teachers.--Without them, ignorance, the fruitful mother of crime and poverty will fill our State with her offspring.'" Furthermore, "it declared that 'the future glory of our youthful State'" would depend upon "'the intelligence and morality of the people....'"<sup>248</sup>

After the convention, the friends of Common Education sent out a circular to the people of Indiana regarding their recommendations to the State Legislature. In it, they argued that the Prussian educational system promoted "'vigor of the cultivated mind,' 'personal happiness,' 'happiness of the domestic circle,' 'social relations,' 'civil liberty,' 'political prosperity,' and... 'man's eternal welfare....'"<sup>249</sup> They also stated that the two main "'hindrances'" to a "good common school system" were "'the scarcity of well qualified teachers'" and "'apathy in relation to the real value of a good education....'"<sup>250</sup>

---

<sup>247</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 374.

<sup>248</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 374-5.

<sup>249</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 375.

<sup>250</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 375.

Finally, they urged community meetings to discuss the ideas, and they invited community delegates to attend a future state convention. In order to continue the public awareness campaign, the group also solicited journal editors and ministers to address the issue of common school education in their publications and sermons.<sup>251</sup>

State conventions followed on December 26-29, 1837, and January 2-4, 1839. However, attendance at them was modest compared to the first meeting. Actions taken at these conventions included suggestions to the General Assembly for a professorship at Indiana College for the training of teachers with free tuition; the "use of the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in the common schools"; and the installation of a state superintendent who would gather information that would "enable our Legislature to correct the defects of our common school system."<sup>252</sup> The latter convention also adopted a constitution for annual education conventions, and it appointed a committee to report upon books "which might be recommended... for general use in the schools."<sup>253</sup>

The friends of Education did not hold another state convention until 1847. Meanwhile, Indiana legislators passed a few limited school laws containing little innovation. An 1837 bill reiterated former statutes, and ordered the Circuit Court "to appoint annually three 'examiners,' whose duty it should be 'to certify the branches of learning each applicant was qualified to teach.'"<sup>254</sup> It stated that school funds could not be distributed unless a district provided a schoolhouse "of convenient size and with sufficient light, and so furnished as to render the teacher and pupils comfortable." Further, it stipulated a \$50 limit per household for monies voted to be raised by tax-payers for schools.<sup>255</sup> An 1841 law allowed householders, "by a two-thirds vote," to "levy a tax to continue a school for more than three months." This statute also enabled "inhabitants

---

<sup>251</sup> Carmony, 376.

<sup>252</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 376-7.

<sup>253</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 377.

<sup>254</sup> Boone, 37.

<sup>255</sup> Boone, 37.

maintaining private schools" to "draw their proportion of school funds" where public schools were absent.<sup>256</sup>

The School Bill of 1843 enacted only one of the friends of Common Education's recommendations. It created the position of a state superintendent of public schools by ordering the treasurer of the state to act in this capacity. The treasurer/superintendent was to submit an annual report to the General Assembly containing the following information: "1. The condition and amount of school funds. 2. The condition of the State University and other colleges. 3. The condition of county seminaries. 4. The number and condition of common schools. 5. Estimates and expenditures of public school moneys. 6. Plans for the management of the school fund and the better organization of the common schools. 7. General recommendations."<sup>257</sup> The 1843 bill also made counties "locally responsible for the school funds in their custody, and for the uniform and timely payment of interest thereon."<sup>258</sup>

Indiana legislators neglected to take advantage of the growing support for public schools because of a sudden drop in state funds. The ill-fated Indiana Internal Improvements scheme caused a sudden waning of interest in education after a steady growth of support over twenty years.<sup>259</sup> The financial scheme, which was to improve roads, and build canals and schools, originated in improvement plans of the late 1820s and early 1830s, but reached extravagant goals in the Internal Improvement Bill of 1835-1836. The bill, which stressed canal building, proved disastrous. "Almost as suddenly as it had appeared, the general canal system collapsed under the weight of fraud, mismanagement, and an international economic crisis in the late 1830s."<sup>260</sup> As a result, the state of Indiana went bankrupt. Once again, it lacked the means to sustain a comprehensive education

---

<sup>256</sup> Boone, 40.

<sup>257</sup> Boone, 41.

<sup>258</sup> Boone, 38.

<sup>259</sup> Carmony, 378. Boone, 39.

<sup>260</sup> Cayton, 285.

system. Thus, state conventions for school reform were suspended after 1839, and no new school laws were passed until 1847. However, the underlying support for public schools remained, and proved a vital force in the creation of a state-regulated school system with a state tax base early in the next decade.

Support for a public school system intensified in Upper Canada during this period, too, despite the violent disputes between extremist Reform Party members and the colonial government during the Rebellions of 1837-1838. Tories, members of the conservative governing party, and Reformers, members of the party that was trying to "dislodge the [Tory] oligarchy and to make the colonial administration responsive to public opinion and popular will,"<sup>261</sup> agreed that changes needed to be made to existing school laws. Moderates in both parties questioned the ability of the Anglican Church to serve as the central administrator of schools and school lands. Moderates argued that "*property*," not religion, was the best educator.<sup>262</sup> Property could be taxed to help pay for schools, and people with property could benefit from procuring a system of schools that instilled morality and industriousness in the colony's younger generations. Therefore, "a renewed resolve to reform Upper Canadian education followed hard on the heels of the Rebellions of 1837-1838. Poverty, idleness, and ignorance led not only to crime, but to revolution. The safety of property as well as social peace, [school] reformers, argued, demanded a population that could be governed."<sup>263</sup>

However, immediately after the failed Rebellions, the Lt. Governor and the Executive Council strove to maintain political authority within the ruling oligarchy. In 1838, Legislative Councilor Robert Baldwin Sullivan delivered a "Report on the State of the Province" to Lt. Governor Sir George Arthur. In the report, Sullivan defended the

---

<sup>261</sup> Morton, W. L., *The Kingdom of Canada: A General History from Earliest Times* (Indianapolis, 1963), 225.

<sup>262</sup> Curtis, 38.

<sup>263</sup> Houston and Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars...* (Toronto, 1988), 104.

authority of the colonial executive even in opposing, at crucial junctures, the popular will.<sup>264</sup> He also contended that "'incalculable' evils had resulted from the 'want of Government superintendence' of popular education." Lack of government control had allowed American teachers to teach Canadian youth to glorify the American republic and to abhor Great Britain. Upper Canadians, Sullivan argued, should be instructed "in their political obligations to the British Crown."<sup>265</sup> While Sullivan was preparing this report, the Executive Council was blocking all attempts "to reconstruct popular education."<sup>266</sup> Instead, it passed the Grammar School Act of 1839. This highly unpopular bill appropriated new lands for elite grammar schools and gave authority over the lands and schools to the Anglican-controlled Council of King's College.

The ruling oligarchy could not maintain its authority for long. Not only was public opinion decidedly against the small, but powerful group, the British government also questioned its overriding influence. In a report commissioned by the imperial government, John George Lambton, Lord Durham, described the dominance of the group as "a monopoly of power so extensive, and so lasting" that it "could not fail... to excite envy, create dissatisfaction, and ultimately provoke attack..."<sup>267</sup> The solution to revolutionary activities such as the Rebellions lay in enacting in Canada the whole of the British constitution, including, Durham wrote, local government organs. Local government bodies, among other desirable goals, could provide schools.<sup>268</sup> Durham also stated that Upper Canada lacked the means to support schools partly because the "'lands which were

---

<sup>264</sup> Curtis, 39-40.

<sup>265</sup> Curtis, 40.

<sup>266</sup> Curtis, 36.

<sup>267</sup> Paul G. Cornell, Jean Hamelin, Fernand Ouellet, and Marcel Trudel, *Canada: Unity in Diversity* (Toronto, 1967), 212-213.

<sup>268</sup> Curtis, 42.

originally appropriated for the support of schools...' had for the most part been 'diverted to the endowment of the University,' King's College.<sup>269</sup>

Durham's report provoked further inquiry into colonial affairs. Lt. Governor Arthur commissioned three prominent Upper Canadians to investigate the state of elementary education in the colony. The Reverend H. J. Grasset, dean of St. James in Toronto, the Reverend John McCaul, headmaster of Upper Canada College, and S. B. Harrison, Home District Judge, gathered information primarily by sending out circulars to Legislative Councilors, Tory Parliament members who were interested in education, and well-known educators.<sup>270</sup> Recommendations arising from the report included a more centralized hierarchy of school authorities, comprising an inspector general, a provincial board of commissioners, and appointed district boards of trustees to administer schools with the assistance of salaried secretaries. The report also suggested that all schools use a prescribed set of texts that were not American in origin. Teachers salaries should be raised; and Normal and Model Schools should be established in the colony. Further, the Commissioners stated that levying a tax of "three farthings in the pound" would raise the funds to support the school system.<sup>271</sup>

The Union of 1840 postponed reaction to the report. In response to the Rebellions, and in keeping with Lord Durham's recommendations, the British government united Upper and Lower Canada into one province in 1840. Politically, the single colony acquired the same government structure as the two colonies had formerly enjoyed. The new Canadian Parliament consisted constitutionally of equal numbers of representatives from Upper and Lower Canada (Canada West and Canada East, respectively, in official terms) in order to "swamp the French" who had considerably more constituents than

---

<sup>269</sup> Curtis, 42.

<sup>270</sup> Curtis, 46.

<sup>271</sup> Curtis, 45-48. Houston, "Politics, Schools..." (New York, 1975), 37-38.

British Canada in 1840.<sup>272</sup> The union was to promote a sense of oneness in Canadian nationalism.<sup>273</sup> Other features of the new government structure included higher property qualifications for Parliamentary members, as well as for voting, and a Legislative Council appointed for life by the Governor General. The Council did not have to be equally divided between Upper and Lower Canadians.<sup>274</sup> Early in 1841, the Upper Canadian Assembly forced an important concession on the Governor General, Lord Sydenham, and his Council. Thereafter, "a ministry which did not have the support of the majority of the Assembly should resign or call new elections."<sup>275</sup> With this principle in effect, Reformers and French Canadians became members of the Legislative Council for the first time.

One of the first tasks of the new united colonial government was the passage of the Common School Act of 1841. Drafted by Sydenham's Council, the bill was radically altered by Reformers in the Assembly. The result was legislation that firmly ended oligarchic control of educational policy while failing to replace it with a workable engine for the school system. Its provisions created the appointive, salaried office of superintendent of education for Upper and Lower Canada. The appointee in this office was to apportion monies from the school funds, to prepare report forms for district and local school officials, and to promote uniformity in the implementation of the school bill.<sup>276</sup> The act also abolished the position of school trustee and replaced it with two ranks of school authorities: district councils and township boards of commissioners. The district councils were responsible for designating school sections, and for taxing local property and parents or guardians for school houses, books and supplies. They were to

---

<sup>272</sup> J. M. S. Careless, *Canada: A Story of Challenge* (New York, , 1965), 198. W. L. Morton, *The Kingdom of Canada: A General History from Earliest Times* (Indianapolis, 1963), 253.

<sup>273</sup> Morton, 254.

<sup>274</sup> Morton, 258.

<sup>275</sup> Curtis, 52.

<sup>276</sup> Houston and Prentice, 108. Curtis, 54.

report to the superintendent annually. Township commissioners, who were to be elected, obtained the duties of directly supervising the township schools. Supervision included hiring and firing teachers, specifying school regulations and courses of study, and monthly inspection of all township schools. They were also "in charge of building schools and deciding what the assessment for local schools should be."<sup>277</sup>

Besides creating "a central administrative authority, supported by a hierarchy of administrative bodies at various levels of local government," the 1841 act established the precedent of property taxes for the school system.<sup>278</sup> "The granting of each District's portion of the school fund was conditional upon the District Council raising at least an equal amount by local taxation."<sup>279</sup> The bill also initiated the detailed reporting of school information with forms and circulars that required all schools, townships and districts to supply the same data. These reports assessed teaching methods, school regulations, teacher qualifications, the character of religious instruction and methods of punishing children with much more depth and consistency than former reporting methods ever accomplished.<sup>280</sup>

In addition, the Act of 1841 formally placed the teaching position within a public agency. "The central education office in Canada West repeatedly reaffirmed the public character of the teacher's office and the right of tenure of teachers except for bureaucratically specified misdemeanours."<sup>281</sup> Finally, the Act of 1841 established the practice of religious immunity. "Any group 'professing a Religious Faith different from that of the majority of the inhabitants' in a township, and dissenting from the 'regulations,

---

<sup>277</sup> Houston and Prentice, 108. Curtis, 54.

<sup>278</sup> Houston and Prentice, 109-110.

<sup>279</sup> Curtis, 55.

<sup>280</sup> Curtis, 56-64.

<sup>281</sup> Curtis, 70.



arrangements or proceedings' of the commissioners, was empowered to set up a separate school, which could also participate in the provincial fund for common schools."<sup>282</sup>

Although the bill was precedent-setting, implementation of the Common School Act of 1841 proved chaotic. In order for the office of superintendent to perform its duties in Upper and Lower Canada, the office of assistant superintendent, which would administer only Canada West, had to be created without the official sanction of the entire Assembly. Thus, in 1843, debate arose in Parliament as to whether or not the incumbent assistant, Robert Murray, was paid legally.<sup>283</sup> In addition, no provisions were provided for printing and distributing the bill, so local and district officials understood little of the nature of the law or their duties. Financial difficulties ensued immediately because a companion bill regarding the district councils was stalled in Parliament. Furthermore, payment of the government grant was contingent upon the collection of matching funds in the localities and upon completion of mandatory reports. Where these conditions were not met, teachers who had conducted schools were not paid. At best, teachers complained of being paid less than under former school laws, less even than common day laborers.<sup>284</sup> Also, under the law, district or urban councils divided their areas into school units according to student population, and only one school in each unit could be supported with government funds. "In the towns, this led to a sharp reduction in the numbers of schools which could be funded, and in the countryside, it led to a rapid multiplication of such schools with a subsequent decline in teachers' salaries."<sup>285</sup>

One teacher who experienced hardship due to the changing laws was William A. Ross, teacher at Forbolton School. In September of 1843 he initiated what had been the normal procedures for receiving payment of the government grant. Four years later he

---

<sup>282</sup> Houston and Prentice, 108-110.

<sup>283</sup> *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada*, ed. Elizabeth Nish (Montreal, 1970), 1843, 798-800 [hereafter referred to as "*Debates, Canada*."].

<sup>284</sup> Curtis, 55-56 and 64-67.

<sup>285</sup> Curtis, 70.

was still petitioning township commissioner, James Grierson, for payment. In a letter to Hamnett Pinhey, district school official, on July 17, 1847, Grierson explained that Ross received only half his salary for the period from July 1842 until September 1843 because during this period the township had no "legally appointed officers," nor was the township "taxed for school purposes."<sup>286</sup>

No one was happy with the Common School Act of 1841. Suggestions for its revision varied greatly. Many landowners resented paying property taxes for schools. Residents who preferred local control to government authority wanted to return to the permissive school laws of the 1830s. Others, supportive of state-run education, recommended province-wide mandatory taxation. Many teachers and district education officials argued that local school officers should be appointed rather than elected so that "qualified" men could control education at local levels.<sup>287</sup> Assistant Superintendent Murray agreed with the latter argument. He also railed against property holders who were unwilling to pay school taxes stating that if a propertied man would "attend" to the "ignorance which pervades the great mass... settling among us," and to "the ignorance in which our native youth are growing up..." he could not "hesitate for a moment to pay any reasonable tax for education, as he would thereby be increasing the value of his estate, and securing himself and his posterity in possession of it."<sup>288</sup>

Murray also agreed with the numerous petitioners from all walks of life who wished for the Bible to be used as a textbook.<sup>289</sup> Furthermore, Murray championed the

---

<sup>286</sup>Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, I 9, Hill Collection, v. 10, Ja[mes] Grierson to Hamnett Pinhey, with accompanying documents, July 17, 1847, p. 2968. See also: v. 10, Ross to Grierson, Mar. 6, 1847, pp. 2972-2973; v. 19, Ross to Misters Grierson and McLeren, Sept. 28, 1843, pp. 4828-4829; and Ross to Grierson, Oct. 7, 1843, pp. 4831-4832; and v. 23, William A. Ross, Memorial, 1842-1844, pp. 5937-5946.

<sup>287</sup> Curtis, 72-77.

<sup>288</sup> As quoted in Curtis, 76, and in Houston, 41.

<sup>289</sup> For Murray, see Curtis, 78-79. For petitioners, see *Debates, Canada*, "Index: II, 1841," 1045-1046.

many petitions from teachers who desired to create a profession of teaching and to become more involved in the administration of education. To these ends, teachers asked for training, standard qualifications, and increased, guaranteed salaries. In order to meet these demands, and secure the prosperity of property owners and the government, Murray called for central control over school curriculum, teacher qualifications, and regulations, and standardized textbooks devoid of American sympathy. He stated that "'more than three hundred different systems of education might be in operation in Canada West.'" To create uniformity, "a person of 'judgement and discretion' was needed, and 'his hands should be strengthened by the strong arm of the law.'"<sup>290</sup>

A subsequent bill, the Hincks Act of 1843, set out to overcome the difficulties engendered by the 1841 act. Enacted by the united Parliament only for Canada West, the bill officially sanctioned the office of assistant superintendent. An important new duty for this primary school office was to furnish local school authorities with copies of the new school bill, forms for reporting, and regulations and instructions for the bill's implementation.<sup>291</sup> The act also "appointed the secretary of the [united] province to the post of chief superintendent, thus providing the embryonic education department with an effective link to the provincial ministry."<sup>292</sup>

The 1843 bill strengthened centralization of school authority by abolishing township commissions and by reinstating the office of township trustee, but placed all their actions under the supervision of district superintendents. District superintendents were appointed by the district councils. Bonded and salaried, district superintendents "were clearly intended to function as morally forceful educational inspectors."<sup>293</sup> They were "to examine all prospective teachers with respect to 'moral character, learning and ability.'"<sup>294</sup>

---

<sup>290</sup> As quoted in Curtis, 79.

<sup>291</sup> Houston and Prentice, 111.

<sup>292</sup> Houston and Prentice, 111.

<sup>293</sup> Curtis, 82.

<sup>294</sup> Curtis, 82.

They could grant, reexamine and nullify teacher certifications. Furthermore, district superintendents were required to visit annually all district schools and to make reports to the provincial superintendents. A similar provision for township superintendents was in practice voided by the failure of a companion bill, so district superintendents, in effect, took over management of schools at the local level.<sup>295</sup>

Funding for schools increased under the 1843 law because localities were enabled to raise taxes that would double the matching government grant. Also, schools could receive the grant for three-month sessions instead of the four-month sessions stipulated by the 1841 law. In addition, the new act created rate bills, fees paid directly to teachers by parents; and it provided that township trustees appoint collectors to secure payment even to the point of seizing the property of defaulters. Moreover, the law allowed district councils to raise two-hundred pounds by taxation in order to create district model schools, and forty pounds each year to maintain them, funds that would be matched by government grant. "Model Schools were to offer free instruction to all county [district] teachers who sought it."<sup>296</sup> The 1843 school bill "introduced for the first time... the idea of teachers who might be superior to their local employers, either by virtue of their certification by superintendents, or their training in a special school, or both."<sup>297</sup>

Besides providing more money for schools, further centralizing school authority, and working to professionalize both teachers and school officials, the School Act of 1843 achieved three goals. It led to rising enrollment in official schools; it allowed an increasing amount of information about the school system to be collected; and it initiated the opening of three model schools.<sup>298</sup> However, due to the failure of its companion bill, which nullified the office of township superintendent, the law could not be effectively

---

<sup>295</sup> Curtis, 81-82. Houston and Prentice, 111-112.

<sup>296</sup> Curtis, 83.

<sup>297</sup> Houston and Prentice, 113.

<sup>298</sup> Curtis, 85.

implemented. Therefore, like the 1841 bill, it left too many loose ends and caused conflicts at the local level.<sup>299</sup>

From the outset, the new bill received criticism from both public school opponents and supporters. Upper Canadians who disagreed with public education initiatives continued to complain about paying taxes.<sup>300</sup> Murray, a strong advocate for public schools who was replaced by Egerton Ryerson in 1844, regretted that the bill did not provide central control over textbooks and elementary curriculum. He and other school officials persisted in their demand that local trustees be appointed, not elected. These same school officials also discovered through reporting mechanisms "that teachers considered able by local school supporters did not approximate the model sought by educational supervisors."<sup>301</sup>

Nevertheless support for a colony-wide educational system was growing. Most critics of the 1843 bill opposed it because it did not go far enough to centralize, to standardize, or to mandate the education of all Upper Canadian children. Houston contends that "settlement, and fears of republicanism and the undesirable influence American teachers could exercise over the youth of the colony, increased interest in education and provided a common theme to the literature of petitions and local school reports." Continuing, she states that the "willingness on the part of the more prosperous element in society... to turn to public education as a means of social control" arose from fear of "Americanism, civil disorder, ignorance and the lower classes generally...."<sup>302</sup>

By the mid-1840s, both Indiana and Upper Canada were poised to legislate state-regulated, tax-supported school systems. Community leaders and educators were calling for them. Recent legislation in both places had put in place state superintendent positions.

---

<sup>299</sup> Houston and Prentice, 114.

<sup>300</sup> Houston, 40.

<sup>301</sup> Curtis, 85.

<sup>302</sup> Houston, 41.

Persons in these roles were charged with gathering data about existing schools, teachers, and expenditures of school funds. Local taxation procedures had been legislated, although by 1843, Upper Canada's tax base was considerably larger due to provisions for mandatory taxing of both property and parents. Upper Canada was also ahead in the areas of teacher certification and regulation, although Indiana had provided by law for teacher training nine years before Upper Canada. In fact, in all areas of regulation, Upper Canada had moved closer toward mandatory compliance than Indiana. But school reformers in both areas concerned themselves with similar issues: the use of the Bible as a text, the regulation of textbooks and curriculum, the training of teachers, the creation of an effective administrative structure, and funding.

Many of the reasons the relatively well-educated, prosperous and influential school reformers in Indiana and Upper Canada put forth for creating public school systems also converged. Ignorance, crime and poverty worried both sets of school advocates as immigrants fleeing the unrest and hunger of Western Europe flooded their countries. However, other arguments diverged after the collapse of the Internal Improvements Scheme in Indiana and the scare of the Rebellions in Upper Canada in the late 1830s. Indiana reformers stressed personal and social happiness and the education of the state's future professional classes. Turning inward, Upper Canadian school reformers appealed to their fellow citizens by invoking their fear of the United States and the civil discord that republican ideas had spawned in the colony. Armed with these differing arguments and reasoning that agreed, as well, school reformers in the state and colony soon realized their goals. Before another decade passed, legislators in Indiana and Upper Canada enacted laws that created the comprehensive, compulsory public school systems the school reformers sought.

## The Establishment of Public School Systems in Indiana and Upper Canada, 1843-1852

By the mid-1840s, Indiana was beginning to climb out of the financial difficulties caused by the failure of its Internal Improvements Scheme and accompanying recession. School reformers began once again to gather and agitate for the revision of school laws so as to create a state-regulated school system. Caleb Mills, Dartmouth graduate, Presbyterian minister, and professor at what became known later as Wabash College, began the agitation by addressing the State Legislature at the beginning of its 1846-1847 session. His address, published by the Whig paper, the *Indiana State Journal*, on December 8, 1846, opened by advising the legislators of their responsibility to educate Indiana residents. It argued that an effective educational system would "benefit every part of the state," different social classes, civil and religious institutions, individuals, and the economy.<sup>303</sup> It supplied statistics about the literacy rate in Indiana. Then, it offered extensive recommendations for changing Indiana law regarding education. Mills' suggestions, backed by thorough research on school systems throughout the United States and in some European countries, included taxation, for which Mills asked "'Shall the rich man's neighbors and tenants bear the whole burden of sustaining schools, which... will pecuniarily benefit him more than the parents of the children taught in them?'"<sup>304</sup> They also included equalization of the township congressional fund across counties, state and county superintendents of education, and the education and training of teachers by state seminaries and colleges.<sup>305</sup>

James Whitcomb, Democrat Governor of Indiana, also addressed the legislature in December of 1846. Speaking of education, he stated that "It is a sacred *debt* which we owe to every son and daughter of Indiana, however poor they may be, to place them upon

---

<sup>303</sup> Charles W. Moores, *Caleb Mills and the Indiana School System* (Indianapolis, 1905), 399.

<sup>304</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 380.

<sup>305</sup> Moores, 397-428. Bachelder, "The Growth..." (Indianapolis, 1994), 15.

an equality with their more favored associates, as to the means of acquiring a common school education."<sup>306</sup> Governor Whitcomb also advocated the appointment of a state superintendent.<sup>307</sup>

A third man who addressed the 1846-1847 legislature was Royal Mayhew. As state treasurer/school superintendent, Mayhew reported on the status of Indiana schools for the year 1845. He stated that funds amounted to just over two million dollars; but that 64 percent of the 350,000 Indiana school children "had been without 'any benefit of common school instruction....'"<sup>308</sup> Mayhew reiterated Whitcomb's appeal for a state superintendent who could "generally supervise the common schools." He also recommended a state tax to be matched by the districts before they would be eligible to receive state tax money.<sup>309</sup>

Pursuant to the appeals by Mills, Whitcomb and Mayhew, the Indiana General Assembly called for a state common school convention at Indianapolis "for the purpose of consulting and devising the best course to be pursued to promote common school education in our state."<sup>310</sup> Two prominent Indiana residents arranged the convention: Calvin Fletcher, Methodist, Whig, banker, teacher and lawyer; and Henry Ward Beecher, Congregationalist minister, national author and lecturer, and newspaper editor. The day before the convention started, the *Indiana State Journal* strongly supported its goals. "It is the laying the very corner stone of the durability of the republic; the commencement of a system of free schools, by which every child in the State is benefitted upon an equality-- can read its own destiny and the design for which it was sent into the world...."<sup>311</sup>

---

<sup>306</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 378.

<sup>307</sup> Carmony, 378.

<sup>308</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 379.

<sup>309</sup> Carmony, 379.

<sup>310</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 381.

<sup>311</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 383-4.



The convention met from May 25-28, 1847, and was attended by 300 influential men, among them Whitcomb and Mills.<sup>312</sup> Judge Blackford, who was now Chief Justice of the Indiana Supreme Court, presided. After three days of enthusiastic discussion, the convention appointed two committees, the first to publish and distribute an address regarding education to the citizens of Indiana, and the second to prepare a bill for the legislature. The seven men of the first committee described the sad state of Indiana schools, which wanted healthful, comfortable schoolhouses, vastly increased attendance, and competent teachers. Next, they proposed free schools for all, a general tax, raised and standardized teacher qualifications and teacher compensation, and a superintendent of schools. Their address attempted to persuade Indiana residents to support the recommendations of the convention by using several arguments. It called upon their patriotism as republicans, and intimated that educated inhabitants would more surely pay off the state debt and redeem its credit. It quoted statistics that showed private schools cost two to four times as much as state schools; and that crime cost twice as much in Indiana as an effective educational system would. Also, it called forth the residents' "duty to the rising generation." The report was supported by quotations and extracts regarding schools from the U. S. and abroad. The committee published and distributed 1,000 copies of the address throughout the state.<sup>313</sup>

Meanwhile the second committee of the education convention drafted a bill to present to the state legislature. The committee of three men, including Fletcher, proposed two basic changes. "First, it called for a large increase in administrative supervision by county and state officials. Second, it asked for a large increase in tax support at both state and local levels... to be paid entirely in money...."<sup>314</sup> In order to increase supervision, the

---

<sup>312</sup> Esarey, *A History of Indiana...* (Indianapolis, 1970), 683.

<sup>313</sup> Boone, 96-98. Also, see Carmony, 382-5. Carmony states the address boasted that common schools cost one-fifth the expense of private schools (385).

<sup>314</sup> Carmony, 387. Also, see Bachelder, 16.

draft advised an administration consisting of state and county superintendents, township and district trustees, and district and state boards of education. Trusteeships would be reduced from three to one to save money, and to allow authority to rest most heavily at the county and state levels. All administrative levels would face penalties if they failed to properly perform their stipulated duties. Uniformity would arise from the control of the county and state boards, especially the latter, which was charged with choosing texts, and providing school libraries and teachers' training institutes.<sup>315</sup> In order to increase tax support, the bill "recommended a poll tax of twenty-five cents and a tax of six-tenths of a mill on the property of the state for school purposes, the townships being required to levy an equal amount of local tax."<sup>316</sup>

When the committee submitted the draft bill on education to the Indiana General Assembly, it recommended that the Assembly pass an education bill and let the voters of Indiana decide whether to accept or reject it. Hoping to convince the legislature to produce a school bill, the committee argued that "universal education is essential to full success of sound Democratic principles--to the stability of our free government." They also promised that a workable school system would "prove the grand basis of the higher Seminaries, Colleges, and Universities of the State."<sup>317</sup>

Mills also addressed the legislature for the second time. He cited statistics from the 1840 federal census, which showed that one-seventh of all Indiana adults were illiterate. He underscored many of the convention's recommendations, and reiterated points from his first address. He stressed the need for adequate school buildings, increased teacher compensation, uniformity of texts, and state supervision of schools. Mills especially spoke to the business and economic interests in the state by providing an appended section about the relationship between education and labor. In this section, he

---

<sup>315</sup> Carmony, 386. Boone, 98-99.

<sup>316</sup> Boone, 98.

<sup>317</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 387.

showed that education produced more skilled workers, gave individuals the knowledge and moral character to succeed at supervisory and highly skilled positions, and stated that individuals with a common school education earned more money, on average, than persons without this advantage.<sup>318</sup> Mills also appended a section about religion. Mills "observed that 'however diversified may be our religious sentiments, there is a strong and prevailing impression in society that the great principles of the Bible, are inwrought in, and inseparable from, the civil institutions of the land.' To this he added: 'The Bible is too deeply enthroned in the hearts of the people, to be excluded from our common schools, and other institutions of learning.'"<sup>319</sup> In this second address, he supplied a bibliography of books and pamphlets regarding education for the use of Assembly members.<sup>320</sup> For the edification of all Indiana residents, Mills published his address in pamphlet form in 1848.

Notwithstanding the vigorous work of the education convention it had called, the Indiana General Assembly failed to act upon the convention's advice. Governor Whitcomb declared that because of state debt, Indiana could not afford a school system such as the draft bill envisioned.<sup>321</sup> The House passed a bill with some of the suggested provisions only to have the Senate reject it.<sup>322</sup> However, the Assembly voted to take the issue of education to the people by way of referendum in the next general election in August 1848. It also called for another education convention.

The convention met in Indianapolis in late May 1848, in a room the State Legislature had given for its headquarters. The Reverend E. R. Ames presided.<sup>323</sup> Members submitted reports about the condition of Indiana schools, and about libraries and

---

<sup>318</sup> Moores, 480-489.

<sup>319</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 382. For Mills on religion, see Moores, 497-500.

<sup>320</sup> Moores, 493-494.

<sup>321</sup> Carmony, 390.

<sup>322</sup> Carmony, 390. Also, Bachelder, 17. Boone, 101, states that the Senate did nothing with the bill because it was too near the session's close. Esarey, 684, states that the Senate called for a referendum because it did not have sufficient time to consider the bill.

<sup>323</sup> Esarey, 684.

universities. The most pressing issue, however, was the upcoming referendum. In order to appeal to Indiana residents to pass the referendum, the convention devised several strategies. First, the convention appointed Judge Amory Kinney "'to go thro the state & deliver addresses' on the importance of free schools...."<sup>324</sup> Second, Fletcher, as head of an education committee, contacted newspaper editors throughout the state to ask for their assistance in persuading people of "'the superior advantages of the Free School System, over every other plan devised to educate the whole people....'"<sup>325</sup> Third, seven conventioners, including Reverend Ames, prepared another address to Indiana inhabitants. Among other arguments, the address maintained that, unlike children in the older states who had extended family help when they lost their parents, children in Indiana were left without any aid when their fathers passed away. The address lamented that "no system of education is in existence to furnish them with that intellectual furniture which constitutes the greatest temporal wealth. He leaves them in poverty, in ignorance, to the cold charities of a land of strangers and exposed to every temptation."<sup>326</sup> Fourth, a committee chaired by Judge Kinney published a report detailing "the necessity of elementary teaching, training teachers, free schools, school taxes, superintendence, district boards, and libraries."<sup>327</sup> Kinney also supported a campaign pamphlet for free schools by the Indiana State Educational Society.<sup>328</sup> "Many counties were visited, and meetings held and addressed by local speakers as well."<sup>329</sup>

On the first Monday in August 1848, Indiana voters were asked by the legislature if they were in favor of free schools. Specifically, they were asked to "give their votes for or against the enactment of a law by the next Legislature for raising by taxation an amount

---

<sup>324</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 390.

<sup>325</sup> As quoted in Carmony, 390.

<sup>326</sup> As quoted in Esarey, 687n.

<sup>327</sup> Esarey, 686.

<sup>328</sup> Esarey, 688.

<sup>329</sup> Boone, 103.

which, added to the present school funds, shall be sufficient to support free common schools in all the school districts of the State for not less than three nor more than six months each year."<sup>330</sup> Fifty-six percent of the 140,410 votes cast were in the affirmative. This comprised two-thirds of the ninety counties then in existence.<sup>331</sup>

Support for free schools and the taxes to provide them was much stronger in the northern half of the state than in the southern, and strongest along the border with Michigan and in the counties opposite Cincinnati.<sup>332</sup> The southern counties were more densely populated, had older settlements, established industries, all but one of the state's colleges, and the most prosperous seminaries, as well.<sup>333</sup> Boone opines that "Among the people of these counties the opinion... was tenaciously held, that free schooling was a form of charity--a charity which was not needed by the prosperous and well-to-do, and which the poor needing were too proud to accept."<sup>334</sup>

Boone also states that nearly one-third of the people owning taxable property represented in the vote opposed free schools because they came from the southern states that looked upon state-regulated schools as an infringement to local, family and individual liberty.<sup>335</sup> These opponents argued that "education is a private responsibility." A Catholic who wrote to the *Freeman's Journal* stated: "The whole State school system is foreign and antagonistic to the American political institutions and traditions..."<sup>336</sup> A state-directed and funded system left "parents and guardians no room for choice in directing the culture of their children."<sup>337</sup> Continuing, Boone attests that rich and poor alike abhorred paying taxes for schools, the poor because they thought it unfair for the laboring classes to

---

<sup>330</sup> As quoted in Boone, 101.

<sup>331</sup> Boone, 105.

<sup>332</sup> Boone, 107-108. Esarey, 685 and 688-691.

<sup>333</sup> Boone, 108.

<sup>334</sup> Boone, 109.

<sup>335</sup> Boone, 109.

<sup>336</sup> Boone, 122.

<sup>337</sup> Boone, 123.

pay for the education of wealthy children, and the rich because they did not need the public schools--they could enroll their children in exclusive academies. "Why should they be asked to pay for the schooling of those who were better suited to their station without it?"<sup>338</sup>

Boone's theories fit in well with historian Andrew Cayton's advice "to be fair to all people," by "seeing the struggles over schools and reform... as evidence of legitimate disagreement over what kind of society people wanted to nurture in Indiana."<sup>339</sup> Cayton asserts that "Professionals, urban dwellers, settlers from the northeastern region of the United States, free blacks, Quakers and Presbyterians tended to be the strongest supporters of internal improvements and public education."<sup>340</sup> Whigs, he states, "believed in the importance of government stepping forward to improve social as well as economic structures." Cayton also argues that Presbyterians, and presumably other religionists, believed that humans "had to decide themselves to become useful citizens. Certainly government and the better sort of people had the responsibility to create an environment that would encourage them to make the right choice, thus the need for public schools, public libraries, public lectures, and churches."<sup>341</sup>

In harmony with Cayton, Carmony contends that "a larger percentage of Whigs than Democrats voted for free schools." Nevertheless, he maintains that Democrats must have given "significant support" because they "overwhelmingly dominated state politics."<sup>342</sup> He agrees with both Boone and Cayton that "voters of southern origin gave a smaller proportion of their votes for approval than did those of northern and European origin."<sup>343</sup> Carmony also states that Presbyterians gave "considerable support" to the

---

<sup>338</sup> Boone, 123.

<sup>339</sup> Cayton, 288.

<sup>340</sup> Cayton, 288-289.

<sup>341</sup> Cayton, 289.

<sup>342</sup> Carmony, 391.

<sup>343</sup> Carmony, 391.

referendum. However, he asserts that Methodists and Baptists were strong supporters, too, while Roman Catholics and Quakers largely opposed the measure. This is in contrast to Cayton who supposes Quakers to have been some of the main education promoters.

In response to the affirmative majority vote on the referendum of 1848, state legislators passed "An Act to increase and extend the benefits of the common schools," commonly referred to as The Law of 1849.<sup>344</sup> One of the main features of the bill regarded taxes: ten cents on every \$100 of taxable property, a poll tax of twenty-five cents, and "a three-cent tax on the business of foreign insurance companies."<sup>345</sup> State funds were to be distributed "as nearly as possible to give each school district the same total per student enrolled." Moreover, within single counties, "congressional townships with large funds would share their revenue with townships having small or even no township fund."<sup>346</sup> Thus, within individual counties, school funds would be equalized. In addition, voters in a school district could impose an additional tax for building and maintaining schoolhouses, for buying supplies such as fuel and books, and for extending the school term past three months.

The Law of 1849 also restructured the administrative apparatus somewhat. One trustee was to be maintained in each district rather than the former three. Townships were still to have three trustees, however, and counties retained their three school examiners, but not their school commissioners. The state treasurer was still to perform as superintendent of public schools, too.<sup>347</sup> The bill established a minimum school term of three months, and stipulated that schools must "be taught by 'legally qualified teachers.'"<sup>348</sup> The law also devised "an elaborate system of records and reports" to be

---

<sup>344</sup> Boone, 111-112. Boone supplies almost the entire law on pp. 112-119.

<sup>345</sup> Boone, 120.

<sup>346</sup> Carmony, 392.

<sup>347</sup> Boone, 119-120.

<sup>348</sup> Carmony, 392.

submitted at regular intervals by each level of school administration including teachers and the State Legislature.<sup>349</sup>

A final provision of the 1849 school bill stipulated that only in those counties voting to pass the law would it be enacted. Once again supporters of public education canvassed the state. In this vote, sixty-one counties accepted the bill and twenty-nine counties rejected it.<sup>350</sup> Again, the majority of affirmative votes in the state was fifty-six percent (79,079 of a total 142,391 votes cast), suggesting the existence of a strong minority that opposed a state school system. And once again, Indiana residents received a permissive school bill that allowed one-third of the state townships to provide locally for schoolhouses, teachers, rules, curriculum and fees. Meanwhile, the majority of the state moved towards centralization, but on unequal footing. For, while funding within counties was equalized by the 1849 act, funding from county to county remained unbalanced. Counties with better resources continued to enjoy better financial support than poorer neighboring counties.

The next episode in the evolution of a state school system in Indiana took place at constitutional level. While the people of Indiana voted for or against the school bill in the 1849 elections, they also voted affirmatively that the state should rewrite its constitution.<sup>351</sup> Therefore, a constitutional convention was held in Indianapolis from October 1850 through February 1851. Topics submitted for debate at the convention included details about the administration of government, and about the relationship between state and local governments. Other issues were suffrage, taxation, public debt, bank charters, professional and trade licensing, religious tests, punishment for personal

---

<sup>349</sup> Boone, 120.

<sup>350</sup> Esarey published the county-by-county vote for both the 1848 referendum, and the vote on the Law of 1849 in table and map forms on pp. 685, 689-691 and 693. Carmony quotes Caleb Mills as stating that 61 counties voted for, and 21 voted against the 1849 bill. However, this leaves 8 counties out of the vote. Carmony, 392.

<sup>351</sup> Boone, 129.



debt, female property rights, monied monopolies, and common schools.<sup>352</sup> In order to satisfactorily determine the state's future plans regarding these issues, the residents of Indiana, mostly farmers and small businessmen themselves, selected a small contingent of public officials, state and national businessmen, lawyers and educators to represent their interests. Almost all the representatives had attended school, and over half had received some form of higher education. Democrats outnumbered Whigs by two-to-one. As a group, they possessed wealth, social position, and political and financial authority.<sup>353</sup> In short, they represented Indiana's elite.

The most salient issue in the education debates was funding. Delegates wove resolutions designed to acquire funding throughout the convention debates. This phenomenon occurred when lawmakers discussed taxing banks or corporations, selling lands, charging fines and forfeitures, and accruing surplus tax monies or interest on public works.<sup>354</sup> Summarizing this tendency of the conventioners to gather all possible resources for the schools, Franklin County representative George Shoup declared "I am for gathering up every small item, and collecting together every means within the reach of

---

<sup>352</sup> Charles Kettleborough, *Constitution Making in Indiana: A Source Book of Constitutional Documents with Historical Introduction and Critical Notes* (Indianapolis, 1971), xli and lxiv-lxvi.

<sup>353</sup> The group profiles presented in this paper are derived from *A Biographical Directory of the Indiana General Assembly, 1816-1899*, 1, eds. Rebecca A. Shepherd, Charles W. Calhoun, Elizabeth Shanahan-Shoemaker and Alan F. January (Indianapolis, 1980). Ninety-seven of the 150 constitutional convention delegates are listed in this compilation. Statistical evidence derived from the biographical sketches contained in the Directory were originally presented in detailed form in M. Teresa Baer, "Defining 'equality' in ante-bellum America: An analysis of the education debates at the 1850-51 Indiana State Constitution Convention," M. A. paper, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, 1995, 7-12. Also, see Boone, 129.

<sup>354</sup> *Debates, Indiana*, 1557, 1617-1621, 1634, and 1869-1870 for bank tax funding; 1079, 1869-1870, 1968, 1998-2001, 2011, and 2019-2022 for corporate tax funding; 44, 52, 171 and 1868 for funding from the sale of land; 40, 44, 52, 58 and 862-865 for funding from fines and forfeitures; 171 for funding via surplus taxes; and 228 for funding via interest on the public works.

the State to increase our common school funds."<sup>355</sup> James Bryant of Monroe County called the common school fund "a sacred fund which belongs not merely to the present, but to all future generations."<sup>356</sup> Representatives also argued extensively about investment and distribution of the common school fund, but left the matter to the State Legislature.<sup>357</sup> Conversely, the delegates rapidly determined that each county would be liable for its portion of the fund.<sup>358</sup>

Other educational matters occupied the delegates' attention to varying degrees. The education committee set the tone for creating a school system when it first reported sections of the Education Article. The change from the 1816 constitution is significant. Whereas the 1816 version planned for a system "ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a State University," the 1850 version outlined merely "a general and uniform system of common [elementary] schools."<sup>359</sup> Although the latter document originally included a section establishing "normal schools" to train teachers, this section was unceremoniously tabled upon its second reading.<sup>360</sup> Delegates discussed secondary schools only in passing, and quickly decided against funding colleges throughout the state.<sup>361</sup>

Besides funding, two issues regarding education aroused the passions of the constitutional delegates. The first issue was the creation of the office of a state superintendent of public schools. While arguing to create the position, Daniel Read of Monroe County asserted that the education "of every child in the State" had become a

---

<sup>355</sup> *Debates, Indiana*, 1864.

<sup>356</sup> *Debates, Indiana*, 1881. Bryant made this remark on Jan. 28, 1851.

<sup>357</sup> *Debates, Indiana*, 436, 1079, 1900-1901, 1940, 1973, 1979, 1996, 2073-2074.

<sup>358</sup> *Debates, Indiana*, 1079 and 2074.

<sup>359</sup> Boone, 11 for the 1816 version. *Debates, Indiana*, 1078 for the 1850 version which was presented on Dec. 11, 1850. Also, see Boone, 135; Esarey, 692; and Bachelder 18-19.

<sup>360</sup> *Debates, Indiana*, 1862, dropped on Jan. 27, 1851.

<sup>361</sup> *Debates, Indiana*, 858 and 1729 for funding of colleges.

"political necessity," and a "necessary measure of defense and self-preservation."<sup>362</sup> John Morrison, Washington County representative and chairman of the education committee, added that "it may be asserted, with truth, that the section now under consideration, is second in importance to no other which has been submitted," and "the very salvation of our educational system in Indiana, depends upon the appointment of such an officer."<sup>363</sup> This resolution was immediately adopted.

The other issue that greatly concerned the delegates was the University Fund. The fund, consisting of about sixty thousand dollars in 1850, helped to maintain Indiana University. Some of the representatives wanted to include the money in the common school fund. Arguments flared about this issue at several points throughout the convention. Speaking for common schools, James Rariden of Wayne County proclaimed himself "in favor of taking away the fund from the wealthy class and giving it to the poor."<sup>364</sup> Randolph County representative, Beattie McClelland, declared that "the Government owed to every person a home and education."<sup>365</sup> In order to counter arguments that the University Fund was "sacred" and a "vested right" for which it would be unchristian to disburse to any other than the state university, Hiram Allen, representative for Carroll and Clinton Counties, gave an eloquent speech.

Sir, if there is any cause that should call to its aid the universal sympathies and unflinching support of this people, it is the cause of common schools. We should cherish it as one of the strongest safeguards of human freedom; we should encourage it by every legitimate means in our possession; and we should not stay our efforts until we shall have placed within the reach of every child within the State, poor or rich, the means of a common school education. When we have done this, we shall have accomplished more for the cause humanity, more for the safety of our free institutions, more for

---

<sup>362</sup> *Debates, Indiana*, 1858.

<sup>363</sup> *Debates, Indiana*, 1860.

<sup>364</sup> *Debates, Indiana*, 1400.

<sup>365</sup> *Debates, Indiana*, 1400.

the permanence [sic] and security of society, than by any other act of legislation which we could adopt.<sup>366</sup>

Nevertheless, the delegates voted two-to-one in favor of retaining the fund for the university.<sup>367</sup>

Upon completion, the Education Article included eight sections. The first stated that "Knowledge and learning, generally diffused throughout a community" was "essential to the preservation of a free government." It then instructed the General Assembly to "encourage... moral, intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement; and to provide, by law, for a general and uniform system of Common Schools" that would be free of charge and "equally open to all."<sup>368</sup> Section two outlined the sources of revenue appropriated for common schools. The third section stated that the principle on the common school fund could never be spent. Number four charged the General Assembly with investing and distributing the common school fund. The fifth section stipulated that if a county failed to ask for its share of the common school fund, this portion would be reinvested for the county. Section six made the counties liable for any portion of the common school fund that was distributed to them. The seventh section stated that all trust funds held by the state, such as the University Fund, must be applied only to the purposes for which they were created. Section eight provided for the creation of a state superintendent of public instruction.<sup>369</sup>

---

<sup>366</sup> *Debates, Indiana*: Robert Owen of Posey County called the University Fund "sacred (1864)." John Pettit from Tippecanoe County called the fund a "vested right (1400)." Horace Biddle, representing Cass, Howard, and Pulaski Counties, implied that giving the fund to the common schools would be unchristian (1865). Hiram Allen speech, 1892.

<sup>367</sup> *Debates, Indiana*, 1402-1403 and 1893.

<sup>368</sup> *Index to the Journal and Debates of the Indiana Constitutional Convention, 1850-1851*, compiler Jesse P. Boswell (Indianapolis, 1938), 106-107 [hereafter referred to as *Index, Indiana*].

<sup>369</sup> *Index, Indiana*, 107-108. Also, Boone, 139-140.

The Education Article of the 1850-1851 Indiana State Constitution provided guidelines for state lawmakers that were "specific and mandatory."<sup>370</sup> Before beginning their deliberations, the General Assembly heard addresses by Democratic Governor Joseph A. Wright and Mills urging them to carry out the constitution's article regarding education. Mills also encouraged them to create a system of graded schools with four sections beginning with primary schools and ending with high schools. Such a system would prove more efficient and offer both students and teachers the opportunity to advance intellectually and materially, he stated. Mills contended that it would also enable teachers to instill more discipline in pupils, and result in the absorption of private and sectarian schools.<sup>371</sup>

The House education committee, chaired by Robert Dale Owen, returned a comprehensive education bill on February 9, 1852. Esarey calls it the "famous law of 1852, the foundation of the old Indiana common or district school."<sup>372</sup> Most of the work regarding education that took place during the 1851-1852 legislative session concerned common schools.<sup>373</sup> One of the most important provisions of the 1852 common school bill regarded revenue. The law consolidated traditional funds, state property taxes, and funds that had been acquired through the recent constitutional process into a common school fund. Most important, it included Congressional township funds in this reserve so as to balance the amount of funds distributed across county lines on the basis of student population.<sup>374</sup> However, the Indiana Supreme Court subsequently ruled against the inclusion of congressional funds in the common school fund. So, by the revised law of 1855, common school funds were distributed first on the basis of how much congressional funds revenue was available in a county, and then according to the number of scholars

---

<sup>370</sup> Boone, 142.

<sup>371</sup> Moores, 615-618. Also, see Bachelder, 19.

<sup>372</sup> Esarey, 694.

<sup>373</sup> Boone, 144. Bachelder summarizes the 1852 bill on p. 20.

<sup>374</sup> Esarey, 696.

therein. Counties with larger congressional funds received less common school monies than other counties in order to equalize total school revenue across the state. The courts upheld the 1855 change, and it was still in effect as late as 1892.<sup>375</sup>

The school bill of 1852 stipulated four types of taxes for the support of common schools: state property taxes, which became part of the common school fund, township property taxes, and state and township poll taxes. The latter two taxes could be levied by townships upon affirmative votes by township residents for the purposes of building and maintaining schoolhouses, buying school supplies, and for continuing school terms past the time when public funds had been expended. Taxed amounts could not exceed "fifty cents on each one hundred dollars of property," or "fifty cents on each poll."<sup>376</sup> This part of the law was challenged, too. After Indiana's highest court struck this part of the law for being contradictory to the constitution's demand for uniformity across the state, the legislature rewrote the section. Thus, after 1855, townships could levy building taxes, but not extra taxes for tuition.<sup>377</sup>

Another significant section of the 1852 bill dealt with administrative organization. At the head of the school system, the law provided for an elected, salaried state superintendent of education. The superintendent spent "at least ten days annually in each judicial circuit" where he "superintended teachers institutes, counseled with teachers and trustees and delivered lectures;... selected texts for the school room and books for the libraries,... heard and determined all appeals;... was general controller of the school fund and distributed it to the various counties; and... finally, himself or by deputy, licensed all the teachers in the State who drew money from the Common School fund."<sup>378</sup> The school bill provided an advisory board of education to the superintendent. The board

---

<sup>375</sup> Boone, 150-152. Esarey, 703-704.

<sup>376</sup> Boone, 153.

<sup>377</sup> Boone, 154-157. Esarey, 702-703.

<sup>378</sup> Esarey, 698.

comprised "the superintendent, the governor, the secretary, treasurer and auditor of State."<sup>379</sup> Esarey contends that the state board's purpose was neither well-defined, nor useful. Boone states that the board's chief function "seems to have been the examination, adoption, and 'introduction of uniform school books.'"<sup>380</sup>

Under the superintendent in the administrative hierarchy were the civil township trustees. Because the law of 1852 abolished congressional townships, and detailed the duties of civil township officers, "the management of township affairs was made uniform throughout the state."<sup>381</sup> Township trustees formed township boards of education. Along with their clerks and treasurers, the trustees "located school houses, built them with money raised by a township tax levy, took the enumeration, drew the money from the county treasury, hired teachers and dismissed them for cause, inspected the work and heard all the complaints against the teacher."<sup>382</sup> Furthermore, the trustees established graded schools when "'practical and convenient'" and were in charge of township libraries.<sup>383</sup> The 1852 bill also incorporated towns and cities into school corporations with all the same administrative staff, regulations and privileges as townships, but independent of the townships wherein they were located.<sup>384</sup>

The township system united districts under a common organization, and provided "permanence and stability in the system."<sup>385</sup> An 1887 report from the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan commented on the advantages the township system allowed in the second half of the nineteenth century. It provided "more uniform school privileges, a sharing of the cost of schooling, less favoritism in choosing teachers, longer service in

---

<sup>379</sup> Esarey, 697.

<sup>380</sup> Boone, 163.

<sup>381</sup> Boone, 146.

<sup>382</sup> Esarey, 699.

<sup>383</sup> Boone, 147.

<sup>384</sup> Boone, 157-162. Esarey, 704-705.

<sup>385</sup> Boone, 147.

the school-room, a more general uniformity in books and school courses, fewer officers, equality of taxation throughout the township, convenience of schoolhouses, a central control that would obviate local factions, and lengthened school terms."<sup>386</sup>

The 1852 school law became the basis for the Indiana state school system. It provided the funding and organization necessary to build and maintain free public elementary schools throughout the state. "Between 1852 and 1857, more than 2,700 new schools were built around the state," and "by 1855 only fifteen percent of Indiana's 7,000 school districts were without schools."<sup>387</sup> The 1852 bill centralized administration at state, city and township levels. It equalized resources and made the teaching and curriculum components of education uniform across Indiana. The 1852 law also paved the way for graded schools and teacher training. On the other hand, from 1852 until after the Civil War, Indiana's school statutes came under legal attack several times. This slowed the initial progress in forming a state-wide workable system, but it did not halt progress. Indeed, by 1852 Indiana school reformers had finally gained the support they needed to initiate the creation of a public school system that was funded by a mixture of state grants and state and local taxes, and administered by an efficient hierarchy of state and township officials. The battle for public schools had been won; what remained was to iron out the details.

Upper Canada won the support needed to adequately fund and efficiently administer a public school system in the early 1840s. However, major conflicts existed at mid-decade over how centralized the system should be, and, as in Indiana, over how the schools should be supported. In addition, the latest school bill from 1843 contained inconsistencies and neglected to stipulate important details, so its enactment was imperfect and the cause for many complaints. Hoping to alleviate the difficulties in school

---

<sup>386</sup> As quoted in Boone, 148.

<sup>387</sup> Bachelder, 20.



legislation, Egerton Ryerson embarked on a tour of European and American schools directly after his appointment as superintendent of schools for Canada West in October 1844. Ryerson was a leading Methodist minister in Upper Canada. He had been the editor for the Methodist newspaper, the *Christian Guardian*, off and on from 1829-1840. At the time of his appointment as superintendent, he was serving as principal of Victoria College. Prior to his departure to Europe, in a defense of Governor-General Sir Charles Metcalfe against attacks from Reform Party ministers, Ryerson outlined his aspirations as superintendent.

I was about entering upon the peaceful work... of devising and constructing (by the concurrence of the people through their District Councils) a fabric of Provincial common school education--of endeavouring to stud the land with appropriate school-houses--of supplying them with appropriate books and teachers--of raising a wretched employment to an honourable profession--of giving uniformity, simplicity, and efficiency to a general system of elementary educational instruction--of bringing appropriate books for the improvement of his profession within the reach of every schoolmaster, and increased facilities for the attainment of his stipulated remuneration--of establishing a library in every district, and extending branches of it into every township--of striving to develop by writing and discourses, in towns, villages and neighbourhoods, the latent intellect, the most precious wealth of the country...<sup>388</sup>

Ryerson's journey took him to Holland, Belgium, France, Italy, Switzerland, Bavaria, Prussia, Austria, other German states, England, Scotland and Ireland. Upon his return in December 1845, Ryerson wrote a *Report on a system of public elementary instruction for Upper Canada*. This became the basis for his subsequent school legislation. In it, Ryerson promoted universality of education, a practical quality to education so that "every youth of the land should be trained to industry and its practice, and the inclusion of unsectarian religion and morality in the form of "the general truth and morals taught in the Holy Scriptures."<sup>389</sup> He also laid down the principles that, John

---

<sup>388</sup> Ryerson, 349.

<sup>389</sup> Ryerson, 369.

George Hodgins, editor of Ryerson's autobiography, states Ryerson "believed to be essential to the success of his labours."<sup>390</sup> The principles encompassed several ideas: that the people should be consulted regarding all school legislation; that government aid should be given only where it could most effectively assist local efforts; that property owners were responsible for the education of all the youth in a country; that education should be compulsory; and that schools must be inspected thoroughly and regularly in order to maintain efficiency.<sup>391</sup>

However, the school legislation that Ryerson created in 1846 under the conservative ministry led by William Henry Draper put much more emphasis on government-led and inspected schools than the first two of his "principles" foreshadowed.<sup>392</sup> The most significant attribute of Ryerson's plan for the school system was the creation of a tightly-knit, closely-centralized administrative structure. "The autonomy of different educational authorities under the Act of 1843 was for Ryerson its greatest flaw." Explaining Ryerson's criticism, Curtis states "Given that the government was 'responsible'--that the state spoke for the general interests of society--what was crucial in educational organization was effective administration."<sup>393</sup> Houston and Prentice argue that Ryerson was "representative of his times." Ryerson "fastened onto state controlled mass schooling as the motor force that might bring religious harmony, as well as political and social order, out of what appeared to him and to many of his contemporaries to be a state of confusion bordering on chaos."<sup>394</sup>

---

<sup>390</sup> Hodgins in Ryerson, 370.

<sup>391</sup> Ryerson, 370.

<sup>392</sup> Houston, 55, 68n. Houston comments in this footnote that "Draper insisted it was his bill, despite Ryerson having submitted a draft, 3 March 1846. That the measure was given first reading as an *amending* bill suggests that Ryerson might not have had such a *carte blanche* with educational legislation as commentators have assumed." See *Debates, Upper Canada*, 1846, p. 565, for the exchange between James H. Price and Draper, and comments by William B. Robinson, Inspector-General, and Executive Council Member.

<sup>393</sup> Curtis, 113.

<sup>394</sup> Houston and Prentice, 115.

Whatever may have been Ryerson's motivations--no one yet has undertaken a thorough study of the man--the school bill of 1846 that Ryerson authored built a strongly hierarchical school administration.<sup>395</sup> At the head of it was the salaried chief superintendent appointed by the Governor-General who was to be assisted by a paid clerk. The chief superintendent had power over school monies, textbooks, and the forms and regulations for reporting on schools. He was charged with disseminating information and recommendations about school architecture and furnishings, school libraries, and about education in general. In addition, he was made general superintendent of a provincial Normal School, which was also provided by the 1846 act.<sup>396</sup> The chief superintendent sat on a board of education, which consisted of seven members including him, all appointed by the Governor-General. The board had a hand in recommending or advising against textbooks. It organized and regulated the Normal School. It also served as an advisory board to the superintendent on all school questions.<sup>397</sup>

Next in the hierarchy after the chief superintendent were the district superintendents. Salaried district superintendents, appointed by the district councils, replaced the unpaid local or township superintendents. They began the work of regulating school activities."<sup>398</sup> They examined, licensed, and sometimes re-examined all teaching candidates. The 1846 bill enjoined them to visit annually all common and model schools, and "to approve all matters having to do with the model schools." It also stipulated that they collect yearly detailed information regarding the schools.<sup>399</sup>

District superintendents oversaw the actions of teachers and of local school trustees. They had the power to withhold money from the school fund if annual reports were not submitted, if schools were not in session for at least six months, if the teacher

---

<sup>395</sup> Houston and Prentice, 115.

<sup>396</sup> Houston and Prentice, 116. Curtis, 115-116.

<sup>397</sup> Houston and Prentice, 116. Curtis, 115.

<sup>398</sup> Houston and Prentice, 116.

<sup>399</sup> Curtis, 116.

was not properly certified, or if books from the lists disapproved by the board of education were used in the schools. Trustees' duties were now largely connected with schoolhouse maintenance and information reporting. The 1846 "act contained rather ominous provisions dealing with persons elected to the office [of trustee] who refused to serve."<sup>400</sup>

The Act of 1846 also created the position of school visitors. Comprised of ministers, district wardens, township and town councilors, justices of the district court, and local justices of the peace, school visitors could visit district schools, "examine the progress of the pupils, and the state and management of the school," advise teachers, and report to either district or chief superintendents.<sup>401</sup> "The right formerly enjoyed by all local residents to assemble at will for school purposes now devolved only upon these respectable persons." School visitors could plan school libraries; they could examine teachers and issue one-year certificates to teach in specific schools; and they could disseminate educational information.<sup>402</sup>

The School Act of 1846 initiated a "flurry of administrative activity." Instructions and regulations from the education department; that is, Ryerson, his clerk, Hodgins, and the board of education, attempted to detail all aspects of the duties of school officials. District superintendents, too, strove to explain and advise through speeches, pamphlets, essays and reports. The regulations "further eroded the power of local school authorities."<sup>403</sup>

"Opposition to the Act was general and vocal."<sup>404</sup> Robert Spruce, editor of the *Warder*, a paper sympathetic to the Reform Party, summarized much of this opposition. "He described the School Act of 1846 as 'notoriously calculated to wrest the education of

---

<sup>400</sup> Houston and Prentice, 117. Also, Curtis, 117.

<sup>401</sup> Curtis, 116. Also, see Houston and Prentice, 117.

<sup>402</sup> Curtis, 117.

<sup>403</sup> Houston and Prentice, 118.

<sup>404</sup> Curtis, 118.

the youth of the country from the people, and to vest it in the hands of the executive."<sup>405</sup> Sir Francis Hincks, a moderate Reformer, spoke for many in his party when he stated that "The principle of the new school Act is to increase the power of the superintendent."<sup>406</sup> The Newcastle and Home District Councils and some teachers' organizations agreed with Hincks' assessment. The Gore District Council "objected to the onerous duties required of school trustees," and "to the payment of educational bureaucrats," as well as "to the public funding of the Normal School."<sup>407</sup> The Gore District also stated that "teachers were either immigrants on their way to better things, or 'those whose Physical Disabilities from age, render this mode of obtaining a livelihood the one suited to their Decaying Energies.'"<sup>408</sup>

The Newcastle District Municipal Council echoed some of the Gore District Council's concerns. Representing Newcastle, Warden Henry S. Reed sent a circular around to other school districts requesting their opinion of "the propriety of introducing to the notice of the Legislature the great difficulties experienced in carrying out the provisions of the New School Act, and to invite them to unite in obtaining the entire abolition of the Act..." He cited several reasons for the petition, including "the complicated machinery" required to carry out the act's provisions, and "to[o] large a proportion of the [school] fund being appropriated to pay Superintendents." He also mentioned "the want of any power to enforce the payment of any tax for the erection of School houses." In addition, Reed stated that "the duties of Trustees... are of too troublesome and intricate a nature to be performed by the class of persons who must in general be called upon to fill this office."<sup>409</sup>

---

<sup>405</sup> As quoted in Curtis, 118-119.

<sup>406</sup> As quoted in Curtis, 118.

<sup>407</sup> Curtis, 119. Houston, 50.

<sup>408</sup> As quoted in Houston, 50.

<sup>409</sup> Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, I 9, Hill Collection, v. 10, Henry S. Reed, Circular, Sept. 30, 1847, pp. 2994-2995.

The Council's memorial and Newcastle's circular show that local Upper Canadian school officials resented the plethora of regulations and the amounts of school money diverted to school officials at the same time as they recognized the ineptness of many teachers and local trustees, and the need for mandatory compliance in school tax measures. As a political matter, many Upper Canadians wanted local control and choice over school issues, but as a practical concern, they knew that schools needed teachers and officials who were better trained, as well as secure funding sources. Ryerson sought to bridge the gap between these ambivalent reactions by touring the colony to deliver speeches about the importance of education. Curtis states that he stressed "that education would make people prosperous, keep the boys on the farm, make the girls the charms of the domestic circle, and increase the power of the people."<sup>410</sup> Ryerson also wrote to school officials trying to persuade them of the importance of the School Acts. He supplied districts with free sets of textbooks. He also initiated the publication of the monthly *Journal of Education*.<sup>411</sup> In its prospectus, he stated that the periodical was "to be devoted to the exposition of every part of our School System; to the publication of official papers on the subject of Schools; to the discussion of the various means of promoting the efficiency of Schools and the duties of all classes of persons in respect to them; to accounts of systems of public instruction in other Countries, both European and American; and to the diffusion of information on the great work of Popular Education generally."<sup>412</sup>

During the furor over the 1846 School Act, Ryerson wrote a bill that "consolidated the management of urban schools under a Central Board of Trustees."<sup>413</sup> The School Act

---

<sup>410</sup> Curtis, 120.

<sup>411</sup> Curtis, 120.

<sup>412</sup> Public Archives of Canada, MG 5, S/24, John George Hodgins, v. 55-108, Prospectus of a monthly Journal of Education for Upper Canada, Toronto, Education Office, Dec. 1847, p. 8.

<sup>413</sup> Curtis, 120.

of 1847 provided towns and cities with layers of school management parallel to, but separate from districts.<sup>414</sup> The main feature of this bill was that it "made free schooling compulsory in cities and towns"<sup>415</sup> by making municipal taxation "the only means of local school finance."<sup>416</sup> With Draper's backing, Ryerson had tried to include this provision in the 1846 bill, but had failed.<sup>417</sup> In fighting for the clause, Ryerson had stated that he knew of a rich Methodist magistrate who had said that he did "not wish to be compelled to educate *all the brats* in the neighborhood." Ryerson replied in his argument that "to educate 'all the brats' in every neighbourhood is the very object of this clause of the bill; and in order to do so, it is proposed to *compel* selfish rich men to do what they ought to do, but what they will not do voluntarily."<sup>418</sup> In support, Draper contended that "all should possess every facility of education, and that those who possess property should assist and pay for the education of the children of their poorer neighbours; and thus raise the lower classes in the scale of moral and intellectual beings."<sup>419</sup>

Reform Party leaders Robert Baldwin and James H. Price led the opposition to free schooling supported by mandatory property taxes. Baldwin held the popular opinion that "it was better to make the parents pay something for the benefit they receive," so that "they would be more interested in the school."<sup>420</sup> Arguing against the 1847 municipal school act, the *Warder* explained Baldwin's opposition. In an editorial, it stated that the rate bill that had been abolished by the new law had been "the tie, which, heretofore existed between the Teacher and the parent...." With this tie severed, the paper opined, "it becomes a matter of total indifference how the schools be conducted so long as the

---

<sup>414</sup> See Curtis, 117-118.

<sup>415</sup> Houston, 48.

<sup>416</sup> Curtis, 121.

<sup>417</sup> Houston, 47.

<sup>418</sup> As quoted in Houston, 47.

<sup>419</sup> As quoted in Houston, 47.

<sup>420</sup> As quoted in Houston, 48.

Teachers' salaries be provided."<sup>421</sup> Houston and Prentice add that the "most explosive criticisms" focused on two points. "First of all, free schools took away from the 'working man' the dignity of educating his own children. Secondly, their imposition from above impinged on the right of local property owners and householders to self-government."<sup>422</sup> Nevertheless, Ryerson perceived that the real threat was coming from the growing middle class in the community that Baldwin and Price represented. For these "'independent yeomenry of the country'" who were "straining for a foot in the door of a grammar or private school, a common school tax added to such school fees would be 'very oppressive.'"<sup>423</sup>

Opposition to the 1847 municipal bill took a more concrete form in 1848. The newly elected board of trustees for Toronto, acting under the guidelines of the 1846 and 1847 School Acts, increased the annual budget for the city's schools by almost one-third. "The new trustees were clearly following their mandate to improve the schools by making them more comfortable and providing better salaries for their teachers and the new superintendent."<sup>424</sup> However, the increase in budget would have forced the Toronto city council to quadruple the existing assessment on property since the 1847 act abolished rate bills on parents of children attending schools. The council refused to levy this tax, declaring that "the 'privilege of municipal legislation in fiscal affairs would be nullity... for then the people would virtually be taxed, for local purposes, by an authority different from that of their own constituted local government;--an anomaly at once repugnant to British freedom and common sense."<sup>425</sup> Thus, the Toronto common schools closed from 1848-1849.<sup>426</sup>

---

<sup>421</sup> As quoted in Curtis, 121.

<sup>422</sup> Houston and Prentice, 121.

<sup>423</sup> Houston, 48.

<sup>424</sup> Houston and Prentice, 122.

<sup>425</sup> As quoted in Houston and Prentice, 122.

<sup>426</sup> Houston and Prentice, 121-123. Curtis, 121. Houston, 49.



The vociferous opposition to the 1846 and 1847 School Acts led members of the Reform Party to draft a new school bill in 1849. Named after its author, Malcolm Cameron, a radical Reformer, the School Act of 1849 sought to strengthen "the powers of local organs of government in educational matters at the expense of the central office."<sup>427</sup> Curtis states that it was "badly drafted" and "internally contradictory."<sup>428</sup> Houston calls it "a curiously garbled common school bill."<sup>429</sup> Ryerson spoke out strongly against the Cameron Act offering a point-by-point critique of it. He also threatened to resign if the bill was enacted. In a rare gesture, the newly-elected Reform government, led by Ministers Baldwin and French-Canadian Louis H. LaFontaine, rejected the school act that it had sponsored. Houston and Prentice speculate that Baldwin and the other ministers feared losing Ryerson whose critique of the Cameron Act "seemed to demonstrate that the school superintendent of five years' experience knew what worked and what did not..." better "than the ministry itself."<sup>430</sup>

At this time, a struggle in the new government pitted radical Reformers against moderate Reformers and led to the end of their alliance. The breakup of the imperial economic system, which ended mercantilism, opened free trade, and led to a short depression, was the impetus that led to radicalism in the extreme wings of both the left and the right. In the midst of the ensuing political and financial upheaval, "moderate Reformers sought to consolidate a centrist alliance."<sup>431</sup> Ryerson, who had tread between the ranks of Tories and Reformers for two decades, and education, which had been touted for at least one decade as the means to provide civil order and harmony, suddenly found themselves in favor generally. The ensuing social reaction, which favored the centrists'

---

<sup>427</sup> Curtis, 124. Also, see Houston and Prentice, 124.

<sup>428</sup> Curtis, 124.

<sup>429</sup> Houston, 48.

<sup>430</sup> Houston and Prentice, 128.

<sup>431</sup> Curtis, 126.

moderate stance in the political and economic turmoil, cleared the way for Ryerson's epic School Act of 1850.<sup>432</sup>

By the time that moderate Reformers asked Ryerson "to draft a replacement bill for the Cameron School Act," he had moved somewhat away from his strictly central position to one that favored more local control. No doubt the strength of opposition against his school legislation, as well as the political roller-coastering that he and Upper Canada had experienced helped to effect this change. Another influence may have been responses to a circular letter by Hincks asking former district school superintendents about school law.<sup>433</sup> Responses ran the gamut from complete support of the school bills of 1846-1847 to insulting accusations against Ryerson. But, many also contained valid concerns and meaningful advice.<sup>434</sup>

Therefore, based on provincial history, and Upper Canadian input about the design of a public school system, Ryerson drafted a bill in 1850 that was predicated upon two principles: efficient administration and local participation. Ryerson addressed school involvement from the locales or townships upwards rather than starting with the chief superintendent and going down as he had with his former bills.<sup>435</sup> The status of specified elites as school visitors remained.<sup>436</sup> However, voters and local residents could attend annual public school examinations, although they were prohibited from disturbing these meetings. Householders and landowners could elect school trustees, and, except in towns and cities, decide whether to fund schools by rate bills or by local tax. They could also vote to form, unite or consolidate school districts.<sup>437</sup>

---

<sup>432</sup> Curtis, 123-127.

<sup>433</sup> Houston and Prentice, 128-130. Curtis, 127.

<sup>434</sup> Houston and Prentice, 130.

<sup>435</sup> Curtis, 127.

<sup>436</sup> Curtis, 130-131.

<sup>437</sup> Curtis, 129.

Trustees were granted a host of responsibilities under the 1850 act. They decided the level of funding, and in towns and cities, the method of funding, too.<sup>438</sup> They "could undertake whatever arrangements they chose" with respect to "the physical management" of the local schools.<sup>439</sup> They could hire certified teachers and establish their salaries, and they could purchase books within specified guidelines. In fact, in kind of an exchange for the range of duties trustees were now allowed to perform, the school bill of 1850 carefully detailed how they were supposed to perform their tasks. Twelve sections "were devoted to the constitution of rural trustee boards alone, while the section outlining their duties ran to nineteen elaborate clauses."<sup>440</sup> Curtis describes the trustees under the 1850 law as "*centrally instructed and bureaucratically incorporated*."<sup>441</sup>

At the county level, Ryerson made two concessions to the Cameron Act. As the 1849 bill had stipulated, county councils could determine whether to hire one or more county superintendents or to hire township superintendents. Also, district superintendents were no longer to be solely in charge of certifying and decertifying teachers. This responsibility now resided with county boards of public instruction comprised of county grammar school boards and local superintendents. These newly constituted county boards were to "classify teachers according to 'a Programme of Examination and Instructions' provided by the provincial education department."<sup>442</sup> Local superintendents were required to visit schools four times per year. They were also charged with educating the public with a view towards improving the common schools and securing the universal education of children.<sup>443</sup>

---

<sup>438</sup> Houston and Prentice, 130-131.

<sup>439</sup> Curtis, 128-129.

<sup>440</sup> Houston and Prentice, 131.

<sup>441</sup> Curtis, 129.

<sup>442</sup> Houston and Prentice, 131.

<sup>443</sup> Curtis, 130.

In addition to hiring superintendents, county councils were entrusted with the raising of tax money at least "equivalent to the county's share of the school fund."<sup>444</sup> At the same time, school fund allocations changed to follow the Cameron Act. While county allocations would still be based on population, local allocations would be based "on the average number of children actually in attendance in each school."<sup>445</sup> This provision rewarded schools achieving higher average attendance rates and coerced communities to make their children attend school.<sup>446</sup>

At provincial level, "the chief superintendency and Board of Education (renamed the Council of Public Instruction) were preserved more or less intact."<sup>447</sup> However, under the 1850 act, the "chief superintendent was now to be responsible to a 'Department of Her Majesty's Provincial Government.'" But, he was still to manage the Normal School and to author and publish educational reporting forms. The "Council of Public Instruction, and not the chief superintendent was to formulate and publish the regulations for school organization and management, which retained the force of statute law."<sup>448</sup>

The School Act of 1850, with its compromises between local participation and central control proved "remarkably enduring."<sup>449</sup> Though critics persisted in complaining about its centralizing tendencies, about its complexities, and about the barrage of regulations and instructions that followed in its wake, the 1850 school bill remained the basis for the educational system of Upper Canada until 1871 when it was systematically revised for the first time.<sup>450</sup> Under its auspices, all schools in Upper

---

<sup>444</sup> Curtis, 129.

<sup>445</sup> Houston and Prentice, 131-132.

<sup>446</sup> Houston and Prentice, 132.

<sup>447</sup> Houston and Prentice, 130.

<sup>448</sup> Curtis, 131.

<sup>449</sup> Curtis, 131.

<sup>450</sup> Curtis, 132.

Canada eventually became free and attendance by children became compulsory. As Curtis states, "education under the Act indeed became public education...."<sup>451</sup>

Public education became a reality in both Indiana and Upper Canada as the second half of the nineteenth century opened. Hastened by the persuasive efforts of the ministers, educators, and political, social and business leaders who composed the common school promoters, state-regulated and tax-supported school systems were borne in the young state and province in 1852 and 1850, respectively. Both systems possessed as founding fathers, men whose names became synonymous with the mention of public schools in their locale: in Indiana, Presbyterian minister and educator, Caleb Mills; in Upper Canada, Methodist minister and educator, Egerton Ryerson. Mills and Ryerson researched and reported upon blossoming educational systems in America and Europe in order to aid their countrymen in the development of similar workable institutions. They fought for tax support, for the professionalization of teachers, for uniform school books, for free, compulsory, graded schools, and for school libraries. Both promoted religious instruction based on non-sectarian, mainstream Christian beliefs; and both became superintendents at the head of the school systems they helped to create. They differed, however, in the way they saw their legislative roles. While Mills addressed legislators with advice, Ryerson wrote legislation and garnered much personal criticism for his efforts.

Ryerson angered people who questioned the principle of a state-regulated and supported school system, and people who resented paying school taxes because he authored legislation that centralized the educational system of Upper Canada in the office he held. His critics called him "dictatorial" and accused him of wanting too much power. Yet in Indiana, people also protested the right of the state to legislate to parents how their children should be educated; and they actively opposed the new tax burden.

---

<sup>451</sup> Curtis, 131.

Opposition to public schooling was countered in both Indiana and Upper Canada with new broad, concerted efforts towards public education by school promoters, many of whom belonged to the state's or province's elite. In Indiana, Governor Whitcomb called education a sacred debt that Indiana owed every one of its children in order "to place them upon an equality with their more favored associates." Upper Canada's leading minister, Draper, argued that the wealthier classes should help pay for the schooling of their poorer neighbors so as to "raise the lower classes in the scale of moral and intellectual beings." Other school advocates in Indiana and Upper Canada campaigned for education at the end of the 1840s, delivering speeches and lectures and writing circulars and editorials in attempts to raise support for public schools.

The educational systems finally devised by legislators in Indiana and Upper Canada reflected the steps taken to create the school systems, public reaction to these steps, and the subsequent compromises legislators made. Indiana school promoters highlighted the high rate of illiteracy in Indiana at mid-century compared to other American states. Nevertheless, the legislators moved slowly--first asking the people if they wanted a state school system, and then enacting a bill that initiated school property taxes and centralized school administration--but, only if the people in each county voted to accept it. Only after the people called for a state constitutional convention that mandated a school system, was the entire state coerced into following the school legislation. And then, at least one-third of the people in Indiana supported the legislation in the courts that succeeded in temporarily deterring measures that would equalize school funding throughout the state or allow localities to raise school funds for other than building maintenance. The result was a strongly centralized school system with most authority and responsibility at state and township levels.

In Upper Canada, conservative ministers drew up a school bill based on the research of the school superintendent they had appointed. When the law proved too hierarchical and tyrannical to many local school officials and other Upper Canadians who

opposed public education in favor of local control, a new, liberal ministry ordered the bill to be rewritten, but vetoed its enactment after it was passed. By this time, the superintendent appeared too knowledgeable to replace. Moreover, because the British government had abolished Canada's favored trading status, the ministry felt stronger than ever the need for education to create and maintain social cohesion. So, the superintendent drafted a bill that retained the needed centralization and district-wide taxes while affording locals more voice in the school process. The result was a layered hierarchy with several responsibilities at each station held uniform by an ever-burgeoning code of regulations stipulated by the topmost functionaries.

Outside of the extra divisions of officials in Upper Canada, the school systems in the state and province worked much the same. Most funding came from government grants and taxes collected at the largest school unit level--townships in Indiana, counties in Upper Canada. The rest of the school monies were collected locally, by taxation in Indiana, and by either taxation or rate bills on parents in Upper Canada. At the highest level of authority were the state and chief superintendents and their educational boards. Officials at this level superintended teachers' training institutes. They provided guidelines for the licensing of teachers. They controlled school monies. They approved and adopted or disapproved school books. Also, they traveled throughout the state or province to educate teachers and school officials. In addition, Indiana state superintendents actually licensed teachers.

At the next level of responsibility, Indiana township trustees and Upper Canadian county superintendents inspected schools and educated the public about the school systems and the importance of education. In Upper Canada at this level, county boards of public instruction certified and decertified teachers according to the guidelines established at provincial level. In Upper Canada, local trustees also performed some of the functions of Indiana's township trustees. They were in charge of hiring certified teachers; and they built and maintained schoolhouses. Upper Canadian local trustees also determined the

level of funding for their locales, and purchased books for their schools per the lists approved by the provincial board. Householders and landowners in Upper Canada held duties in common with Indiana's township trustees, too. They determined the location of schools by creating and changing school districts. They also decided whether to raise local funds by taxation or through rate bills. In contrast, Indiana township trustees neither determined the method nor the level of funding. However, they were in charge of township libraries; they established graded schools; and they heard complaints against teachers, the latter a function performed in Upper Canada by boards of arbitration.

Indiana and Upper Canada shared other similarities regarding their school systems. Both had incorporated their towns and cities so that they could function as the largest of school units independent of townships or counties. Both had begun training teachers at Normal Schools. Finally, both had realized the importance of school reports at all levels of administration. At mid-century, they were beginning to gather copious amounts of data regarding their schools, pupils, teachers, and curriculums in order to understand and successfully tinker with their institutions. For, the next similarity between the systems would be their mutable nature: legislators had to work to keep public education abreast of new developments so that schools would perpetually meet the changing needs of people in Indiana and Upper Canada.

The evolution of school systems in Indiana and Upper Canada was an exercise in using education to meet the changing needs of children, parents, workers, business people, ministers, politicians, and local communities in these societies. As governments formed and immigrants started arriving into these regions at the end of the eighteenth century, British traditions fostered home and neighborhood schooling. The American and British governments behind the state and colony realized early on that the promotion of education would help to build successful sub-states within their realms, and that education could engender patriotism for one's country or empire. Thus, some of the earliest political documents governing Indiana and Upper Canada provided the idea that education was



important to free societies, and they supported the idea with grants of land so that settlers started their communities with the opportunity to build schools.

During the pioneer period only a few schools were built because residents were content to use the traditional varied avenues for educating their young. Besides, education did not seem highly significant as most folks were busy hacking farmland out of the wilds, erecting homes and roads, and putting food on the table, fuel in the fireplace, and making clothes for their families. But, a few people from the wealthier, better-educated classes who had time to participate in legislative undertakings began putting substance to the governments' promises of education. Thus, permissive school laws were adopted in Indiana and Upper Canada during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. These laws stipulated levels of government support in return for local initiative.

Over the next fifteen years, populations grew, frontier settlements turned into villages and towns, mills sprang up and cottage industries developed. Slowly some people from the middle and upper classes in Indiana and Upper Canada began to perceive benefits that education could provide. It could instill morality, impart knowledge and teach skills useful for the work place. It could teach citizens how to participate intelligently in public political discussions. In response to these sentiments, legislators enacted successive laws that tried to improve funding and increase school bureaucracy. These laws possessed common defects--a lack of uniformity, inadequate funding, and non-mandatory compliance--that barred them from improving school administration or providing schools for all children in the state and province. Nevertheless, most children were, in fact, educated.

Indeed, by the end of the 1830s, traditional family, neighborhood, church and elite schools vied with common schools to educate the young. But, the tide was turning towards state-provided public education. Faced with populations that were doubling, and economic and political crises in Indiana and Upper Canada, respectively, leaders of society including ministers, educators, journalists, politicians, businessmen, and professionals

increasingly saw education as a formidable deterrent to crime and lesser vices, and as a powerful glue that could bind society together with common values, goals and behaviors. Groups as well as individuals called for school reform including taxation of property to adequately fund schools, uniform administration of schools through mandatory compliance of school regulations, teacher training, and the universal attendance of children.

This call for state-regulated, tax-supported schools drew cries of opposition from inhabitants of Indiana and Upper Canada who believed that democratic societies should leave control over local affairs in local hands. Education decisions belong to parents, churches and neighborhoods, these people argued. They did not want the state or provincial governments telling them how to raise their children or how to think about political, social or religious issues. And, although they were proudly willing to pay for their own children's educations at whichever levels of schooling they could afford and that seemed most advantageous to their situations, they did not want to pay for the education of other children. They did not think the state or province had a right to demand taxes of them for this purpose. In short, opponents of the pending public school systems preferred the lesser level of government involvement in their affairs that already existed to the state- or province-regimented society they saw coming with the change in school laws. They enjoyed the greater measure of independence and self-reliance with which they lived better than the inter-dependent, state-supported world looming on the horizon. But, the vision of school promoters won in both Indiana and Upper Canada, as well as in most of the western world.

Starting as the barest outline of a thought, over the decades the idea to create state-run school systems took on substance, attracted prosperous and influential advocates and finally, after many years of tinkering and gaining support, became manifest. In Indiana and Upper Canada, the School Laws of 1852 and 1850 were the result. But, for all their similarities, the laws differed because variances in the environments within which they grew caused divergences in their evolutionary paths. The fact that Upper Canada was a

colony in a democratic monarchy whereas Indiana was a state in a republic played an important role. First, Upper Canada moved more quickly to legislate about schools because it inherited an efficient government system while Indiana had to create one. From 1816 until the 1840s, Upper Canada's successive school laws were more centralized and stipulated more regulations than did Indiana's laws--a reflection of the greater hierarchical nature of Upper Canada's political and social structures. In addition, Upper Canadian school promoters tended towards arguments that revealed more class bias than did reform arguments in Indiana. Wealthy property owners (who were by law the voters and office holders) had a responsibility to see that the lower classes were educated. In contrast, in Indiana, school advocates asserted that the state owed every one an education; and they argued that schooling could bring about greater equality in society.

Perhaps it is the greater class bias in Upper Canada that also explains why school laws were supported in Upper Canada primarily by legislators and their appointees; whereas in Indiana, by the end of the 1830s, much of the agitation for and recommendations regarding school law came from a group of private citizens who gathered together to promote a shared interest in education reform. Certainly, it was the class bias, the hierarchy and the decades of more autocratic rule that provoked conflict in Upper Canada between those who would protect privilege and status in the province and those who demanded greater participation in local and provincial affairs. Ironically, because of the public reaction to the early, autocratic political and social control, Upper Canada devised a school system that was much less centralized than Indiana's, with several layers of administration in contrast with Indiana's two administrative levels. On the other hand, the more inclusive nature of Upper Canada's School Law of 1850 was balanced by the large number of regulations and instructions concerning each level of the school hierarchy by the provincial superintendent and board of public instruction. Therefore, in the end, the school systems of Indiana and Upper Canada performed the same functions in very similar ways, and eventually achieved corresponding results: free, universal

education with curriculums and processes prescribed and supervised by the state and province.

Thus, the public school systems engendered equality of opportunity by providing all but the wealthiest of children with parallel early educations. From this beginning, children of all backgrounds could face the world on an equal footing of basic knowledge and skills, with an equal understanding of how their governments functioned, similar notions about how they should behave to be accepted as responsible, moral citizens, and the guiding admonition to work hard to achieve economic success and happiness in life. Chapter 5 focuses on this equity that public schools presented, and analyzes both the intentions of public school promoters regarding equality and the results the school systems were perceived to have achieved regardless of the promoters' original goals.

## Chapter 5

### Education and the Perception of Equality: Defining Equality through The Establishment of Public School Systems in Indiana and Ontario, 1787-1852

*As expressed in patriotic rhetoric, in school textbooks, and in the work of professional historians, equality in North America--for the idea also appeared in Anglophone Canada--came to mean, as David M. Potter put it, 'parity in competition.' Equality 'had no intrinsic value but only a value when used.' Further, the United States 'has had a greater measure of social equality and social mobility than any highly developed society in human history.' (To this the Canadian parenthetically and characteristically adds: 'And we are number two!') Finally, in North America, 'education has been more available to people with native ability; professional and business opportunities have been more available to people with education; wealth has been more available to people who excelled in business and the professions; and social fortresses have yielded to the assaults of wealth more readily than in any other country.'*<sup>452</sup>

Chapters 3 and 4 show that school systems in Indiana and Ontario did not arise because people there were seeking a vehicle by which to equalize their societies.<sup>453</sup> However, after the systems were formed and functioning, they were hailed for this result time and again, in the latter part of the nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century.

---

<sup>452</sup> As quoted in Neil Sutherland, "Introduction: Towards a History of English-Canadian Youngsters," *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*, eds. Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly (New York, 1975), xvii.

<sup>453</sup> For a short discussion regarding a minority of public school promoters in Indiana and the U.S. who wanted public schools to equalize society, see Scott Walter, "'Awakening the Public Mind': The Dissemination of the Common School Idea in Indiana, 1787-1852," *Hoosier Schools Past and Present*, ed. William J. Reese (Bloomington, 1998), 18-19. Walter points out that equalizing society was not a successful argument for gaining the support needed to institute public schools.

Caleb Mills and Egerton Ryerson, "the fathers of education" in their respective regions, became heroes to generations of educators and scholars who believed they furnished the means that provided equality of opportunity to gain the knowledge, and work and social skills that allowed people to land higher paying jobs so as to acquire more wealth and property.<sup>454</sup> Over time, the perception grew that public schools set many a young lad (and eventually many young ladies, too) upon the road to specialized skills, professional careers, increased earnings, and respectable places in society--if they showed aptitude, worked hard, and willingly accepted the homilies of virtue, patriotism and ambition that were embedded within their lessons. Many successful public school alumni came from the poorer segments of society, from small farms in backwoods areas, or from families of laborers with parents who were uneducated and unschooled in social mores. Their accomplishments, along with the prevalent belief in the power of schools when children applied themselves, modified standards of competition. People began to think that industry, skills and expertise were primary factors in personal achievement--as significant as wealth and social connections had traditionally been. The multiplying success stories of people hailing from poor to middling socio-economic backgrounds, and the support that public schools and personal hard work seemed to afford these people gave rise to the perception that public schools foster equality.

Thus, people came to believe generally that the public school systems raised up many folks from the poorer classes, and accommodated people in all social classes who strove to improve their material and social conditions. But, wealth and social connections retained their importance as factors in individual and family attainments, too. And they

---

<sup>454</sup> Sutherland, xvii-xviii. Sutherland includes traditional and moderate revisionists in the ranks of those who support the "equality of opportunity" conclusion regarding schools. Most historians of public schools in Indiana fall in this category, too. While radical revisionists deny this conclusion, pointing out that education did not create true equality, this argument does not hold for the *perception* of equality held by North Americans which is discussed here.

continued to epitomize the goals of striving--on earth, they were the rewards. God may have created humans as equals, but in free, democratic, and increasingly capitalist societies, equality came to hold certain connotations. Equality before the law had evolved in the English system, and it continued to reach towards being the model in both the U.S. republic and in the English-speaking colonies of Great Britain, like Upper Canada. Equality of male suffrage, a right maintained by British property-holders for centuries, expanded in the American colonial era and exploded as westward expansion ensued after the turn of the nineteenth century. Suddenly, commoners like those near Putney, England, in 1647 who had argued that monarchs derived their power from *all the people*, finally acquired the right to vote because they acquired land. As landowners, they instantaneously met the requirements for voters as stipulated by the nobility and gentry at Putney. By becoming landowners, it was deemed that they held enough personal "interest" in their country to participate responsibly in its governance. They would uphold its law, conserve and advance its riches, and defend it earnestly in war. By taking these actions, they would safeguard their land, buildings, moveable possessions, status, reputations, family members, and lifestyles. This is what the upper classes meant by "interest."

As the franchise spread due to the expansion of property-holding men, so did equality of social standing. Men who held interest in society, men who could vote, were also men who could speak out with influence and affect changes in society. With enough wealth of property and money, men could stand for political office and represent their fellow men, their "peers," their equals, as well as those who held less property, less riches, and less influence. Thus, in the beginning decades of the nineteenth century, North America became a land in which growing numbers of men attained equal standing economically, politically and socially. All people were not equal, but increasingly more men and their families were. As immigration to western areas swelled towards the mid-nineteenth century, more citizens stood to attain this coveted status, but more stood to

fall below it, too, because land values rose as this commodity became more scarce. However, equality could only grow if people's incomes and possessions grew, if the franchise grew, and if the ranks of the middle and upper classes grew. Public school systems offered a significant number of white men, and others eventually, a greatly increased opportunity to achieve these forms of equality. Although public schools were not created for this purpose, the perception grew that they served it well.

But, instituting public schools was not generated by the desire to make increasing numbers of North Americans equal in the ways that Americans and Canadians defined the term. They were generated by school promoters and politicians who were grappling with new political and economic systems, men who at once feared and were exhilarated by the changes these systems and mass immigration were making upon their countries and their peoples. Public schools were developed by these men as they carved the boundaries of political freedom and designed the mechanisms that would propel their nations' economies forward. Forty years ago, Bernard Bailyn brought this realization to the attention of historians of education. He urged scholars to take up the task of researching and interpreting the history of education in North America. He stated that most of the earlier education history that had been published was written by educators whose focus was to learn about and legitimize their profession and the institutions that were involved in their lives' work. Bailyn pointed out that educational systems were also parts of the social fabric, integral components in the general government institutions of the countries in North America. He asserted that the story of public education was a major tale within the story of how new political, economic and social institutions developed in the post-revolutionary era.

Looking at the work of some of the earliest historians of education in Indiana and Ontario bears out part of Bailyn's thesis. Richard Boone, the foremost nineteenth century author about education in Indiana was a professor of pedagogy. Upper Canadian Egerton Ryerson wrote about the history of education in his province in the *Documentary history*



*of education in U.C.*, edited by his colleague, John G. Hodgins. He was an educator for the last several decades of his life. Early twentieth-century author Fred Landon, who wrote about education within the context of Ontarian history, started his career as a librarian. These men who gave early insight into their school systems wrote as though schooling was a foregone conclusion. "Of course schools were created. Let's see what took them so long to accomplish it." They railed against the "ignorance" of people who fought the creation of state-regulated schools during the first half of the nineteenth century. They decried property holders and others of wealth who "selfishly" resisted paying taxes so that all children could attend public schools. Boone and Landon unashamedly idolized Mills and Ryerson, respectively, for throwing themselves wholeheartedly and successfully into public school system development. As Bailyn observed, Boone and Ryerson rallied around the histories of the educational institutions of which they were a part.

The interpretations implicitly stated in studies such as Boone's, Ryerson's and Landon's were that school promoters and organizers were far-sighted heroes; school systems were inevitable; and the systems Indiana and Ontario created were the best ones for their societies. Such patriotic enthusiasm was endemic for scholars in young, particularly democratic, countries. Compared to other places in the world, Americans and Canadians appeared wealthier and freer as a whole; early educators and scholars of education naturally attributed part of this outcome to the public schools with which they were either intimately involved or deeply interested. Early authors on education propagated these sentiments. In 1940, Paul Monroe fleshed out the history of education in America with this view. Landon's sometimes co-author, Jesse Edgar Middleton, followed this pattern, too. Early biographers of prominent education figures also extolled the virtues of the school systems and their foremost advocates. Charles W. Moores added substantial amounts of apologist rhetoric to his 1905 edition of Mills addresses regarding education to the Indiana State Legislature. Hodgins strongly defended Ryerson when he

edited Ryerson's autobiography and his history of education in Upper Canada. Thus, whether educators or historians, nineteenth and early twentieth-century writers about education seemed to be marking education's place in the march of progress, a notion important in turn-of-the-century general histories about North America.

Bailyn's call, in 1960, to look more closely at educational history to discover where it fit within the development of American societies was answered by a generation of historians whose working context was American social unrest. People throughout North America were looking for new answers to civil challenges, and the scholars of the 1960s and 1970s were no exception. Carl Kaestle, who held his Ph.D. in education, began ground-breaking studies of educational history in the United States. His 1983 book *Pillars of the Republic* emphasized the inter-relations between the evolution of American political, economic, and religious institutions and the slow, but steady growth of state school systems. It addressed the transition from family, church and community-sponsored schooling to state-sponsored schools. It described early school buildings, teachers' lives, curriculums, and the student's experience. It set the history of education within the context of political developments; and it compared school systems in different regions of the U.S., explaining in social and economic terms why the differences among regional systems occurred.

Kaestle's findings correlated with studies about the educational history of Ontario. Although most of the scholars involved were Canadian, one of the most influential was American Michael Katz. According to historians Neil Sutherland and Donald Wilson, Katz's work demarcated the line between moderate and radical revisionists of Upper Canadian educational history. Before him, they contend, historians trying to follow Bailyn's guidelines for approaching the history of education as part of the social history in North America still maintained that the school systems were advantageous creations.

Starting with Katz, historians began to ask if the school system in Ontario as defined by the School Act of 1850 was a positive construct or if it was destructive to society.<sup>455</sup> Working through quantitative analysis, Katz found "good" and "bad" elements in the system. Although the school system devised in 1850 provided free and universal education, Katz and his students, including Susan Houston, saw strong elements of social control in the institution. Bruce Curtis wrote adamantly in this mode insisting that Upper Canadian middle and upper class elites contrived the school system in order to protect and promote their interests by controlling the masses.

However, as Wilson relates, radical revisionism gave way to new trends in social history. In the last fifteen to twenty years, historians studying education history in Ontario have focused keenly on such issues as families, ethnic groups, women and the laboring classes. Alison Prentice, for example, has eyed schools through the lens of women's history; and she and Houston are interested in how families affected schools and were in turn affected by them.<sup>456</sup> Robert Gidney's work has shown that Upper Canadians possessed a viable alternative to a state-regulated school system with the network of family, church and neighborhood school forms that flourished by the 1830s. Furthermore, he illuminated the fact that families vigorously influenced the Upper Canadian school system during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>457</sup> This finding bears out Chapter 4's description of Ryerson's 1850 school plan as an inclusive one framed so as to bring about wide-ranging participation at all levels of the system. Such discoveries support a statement by former radical revisionist Ian Davey: "Social control, in essence... downplays

---

<sup>455</sup> See Sutherland, xi-xxxi; and J. Donald Wilson, "Some Observations on Recent Trends in Canadian Educational History," *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History*, ed. J. Donald Wilson (Vancouver, 1984), 7-29.

<sup>456</sup> Wilson, 13.

<sup>457</sup> Wilson, 14.

the struggle and negotiation within and between classes which is at the centre of the historical determination of institutionalized schooling in the nineteenth century."<sup>458</sup>

Davey's statement also parallels Andrew Cayton's admonition that historians of education in Indiana must realize that differences in early nineteenth century opinion regarding schools stemmed from different perspectives about what people wanted their societies to be--how they wanted them to function, and what they believed their underlying values should be. Where early twentieth-century scholars like Boone saw ignorance and foresight battling, late twentieth-century historians like Cayton saw competing visions of society. Historians of education in Indiana have just begun the research and analysis necessary to support Cayton's thesis. Logan Esarey and Howard Peckham, writing during the 1970s, maintained strong attitudes that the Indiana school system was necessary and beneficial to a fault. In fact, Esarey wrote almost nothing of the earliest decades of Indiana schooling, but managed in a few, terse lines to convey his dismay at the short-sightedness of Indiana, which failed to produce a state school system until the 1850s. Writing in a more objective tone, but nevertheless neglecting analysis or interpretation, Donald Carmony fills in the history of Indiana's school system with much vivid and interesting detail in his recent book about Indiana's pioneer history. Writing today, William J. Reese and Scott Walter acknowledge the variety of conflicting opinions about public schools that flourished during the first half of the nineteenth century, and invite scholars of Indiana to join in this exciting new area of research.<sup>459</sup>

By compiling the information supplied by historians who have written about Indiana's educational history and comparing the story thus revealed with the story of Upper Canada's educational history as this paper does, several parallels appear. First, as Katz and his colleagues realized, schools in Upper Canada, although universal and free,

---

<sup>458</sup> Wilson, 12.

<sup>459</sup> Reese, "Introduction," xiii-xvi. Walter, 1-23.

were not created solely for the benefit of the resident masses of the province, and neither were the schools in Indiana. Official school positions that were appointive rather than elective, and state-regulated curriculum, teacher qualifications, textbooks and procedures attest to this fact. These characteristics, for which school promoters in Indiana and Upper Canada fought, suggest a more self-serving motivation on the part of school advocates. The discovery in research for this study that in both Indiana and Upper Canada a school advocate usually possessed more wealth, a better education, and higher social standing than the average man in Indiana and Upper Canada, supports this theory. It lends credence to the theory that the middle and upper classes designed school systems to provide social control in order to protect and promote their political, economic and social status.

However, as Katz and his colleagues learned, the social control theory cannot account adequately for an evolutionary progression in the development of school systems for which historians have gleaned a wealth of information. The comparative story related in the preceding chapters underscores the thesis first stated by Bailyn. School systems developed within North American cultures that were designing institutions by which to govern and bond communities together within national frameworks. School systems grew at the same time as political institutions, churches, and social and religious organizations, like temperance societies and labor unions. They were a response to newly forming circumstances, especially democratization, commercialization and the Second Great Awakening. But, just as these responses were based on former traditions like British monarchy, mercantilism and Puritanism, school systems were based on existing forms of education sponsored by families, neighborhoods and churches. Neophyte school systems in the first half of the nineteenth century existed alongside these traditional forms of schooling. As democratic ideas were generated of aristocratic perspectives, as capitalism followed mercantilism, school systems were designed after community-oriented educational customs. This paper shows that the steps that led to 1852 in Indiana and 1850

in Upper Canada were halting, fraught with legislative accommodations that resulted in inadequacies and inequities. Along the way, individuals, communities and organizations asked simultaneously for more government money and less government control, more opportunity to make choices locally, and more state-provided guidance. The state and provincial governments responded by giving more funding and expecting more local initiative, and by trying out different formulas to balance local participation and government control.

Indeed, the story revealed here of *how* school systems were formed is too full of attempts that only partially fulfilled societal needs, and changes designed to correct problems that the school laws themselves engendered to lend itself to the theory that the ruling classes *consciously* created public schools to control the people in Indiana and Upper Canada. Like current research into the history of Upper Canada's school system, this comparison with the history of Indiana's system shows otherwise. This comparison highlights the fact that both the state's and province's attempts at establishing school systems fit into the network of western states that were experimenting with school organizations. These attempts were part of overall efforts to organize society within developing political and economic frameworks. They were not blatant bids for retaining power, authority and wealth in the hands of a few who already held them.

Neither can the social control theory support one hypothesis of this paper; that is, differing ideals of American and Canadian societies vied for power in post-revolutionary North America. The struggle by school promoters of the 1830s and 1840s in Indiana and Upper Canada makes it clear that competing worldviews existed. The accounts of both early and recent historians contain evidence for this theory. To date, however, historians have mostly presented the perspective of the school advocates. The ideas and actions of the people who objected to state school systems remains shadowy.<sup>460</sup> The preceding

---

<sup>460</sup> Walter introduces the idea of competing visions among public school promoters, and

chapters on education suggest that school detractors were people who believed fiercely in personal independence. They did not want government to control their lives. Through the rhetoric of their complaints against the school systems and by their defiant actions, such as legally challenging portions of the school bill of 1852 in Indiana, they defined equality as the right of each man and each family to decide life's issues for themselves, including how and when to educate their children, and what their children should be taught. They were not, after all, against education per se, but rather against state-regulated schools.

At this time, education history cannot say much about the worldview of people who "lost" the battle over public schools. But, it tells a lot about the perspective of those who "won." School promoters in both Indiana and Upper Canada were vociferous in their arguments about why the state and province should adopt state school systems. As Chapters 3 and 4 relate, school advocates in Indiana and in Upper Canada put forth similar arguments. Upper statesmen such as Thomas Jefferson and John Graves Simcoe broached the idea of public education soon after the American Revolution. Recognizing that the decisive break with British colonial tradition and the opening of new geographical frontiers created environments in which unprecedented numbers of people held political rights, Jefferson and Simcoe promoted the idea of education. Greater political equality mandated political responsibility of larger segments of society. Education could impart knowledge about one's country and its political ideologies. It could also instill patriotism and discipline, virtues Jefferson and Simcoe deemed necessary for the maintenance of democratic societies.

Successive generations of school advocates in Indiana and Upper Canada agreed with Jefferson and Simcoe. Governor Ray of Indiana stated in 1824 that the existence of the U. S. government depended upon the intelligence and virtue of the people. "A well-educated people will always be virtuous," he proclaimed. "They only need to know their

---

the likely ideas of public school opponents in his chapter, 16-20.



rights to protect and defend them." In 1836, newspaperman John B. Dillon pled for Indiana to "educate all the children of the land" in order to prevent the U. S. from falling into tyranny and despotism. Eleven years later, the *Indiana State Journal* declared that a system of free schools would lay "the very corner stone of the durability of the republic." That year a legislative committee from the common school convention urged Indiana's Assembly to pass a comprehensive school bill arguing that universal education was essential to democratic principles and "the stability of our free government." During the ensuing constitutional convention, delegate Daniel Reed asserted that public schooling was a "political necessity" and a "necessary measure of defense and self-preservation." Delegate Hiram Allen echoed this sentiment stating that common schools were one of the "strongest safeguards of human freedom" and that creating them would support the permanence and security of society.

Following Simcoe's lead, Upper Canadian Loyalists looked to education to protect the British monarchical system in the colony. In 1802, Major Graham complained in correspondence to fellow Loyalist D. V. Smith that American schoolmasters in Upper Canada were teaching the colony's youth to be republicans. Therefore, he and other Loyalists urged the government to legislate some control over schools in Upper Canada in order to promote British ideals. After the War of 1812, Lt. Governor Francis Gore stated that informing the common people through education would make them "better subjects of God and Man." The resulting School Act of 1816 enabled communities to start schools provided the teachers were Canadian or British citizens. Every subsequent school bill repeated this requirement. In Charles Duncombe's 1836 report, he asserted that "the welfare and safety" of the government depended upon the national character, which, in turn, depended upon the national education of the inhabitants. Two years later, Robert Baldwin Sullivan urged expansion of government control over schools so that Upper Canadians could be instructed "in their political obligations to the British Crown." Throughout the 1840s, Ryerson, too, argued that a school system would support the



British constitution and traditions in Upper Canada. Thus, in early nineteenth-century North America, statesmen and school promoters advocated equalizing educational opportunity in order to secure the nation or colony and empire in the face of expanding political equality.

Public school promoters also voiced the idea that education should be more widespread to teach children about their national heritages. The more people who possessed public influence and power, the more society needed to teach people about their civic responsibilities and to instill the national devotion and drive to perform them. Christian morality would supply these attributes. Without the discipline, honesty and loyalty taught within Christian denominations, the knowledge of one's country and its ideologies would not be acted upon. People would not be moved to take up their responsibilities as citizens. Without morality neither would they protect their country if their personal interests were threatened. Thus, as the preceding chapters show, schools that taught Christian virtues were necessitated by the expansion of political equality, too.

Indiana's and Upper Canada's school promoters saw the infusion of Christian morality into society at large as a requirement for free societies. Indiana's first constitution stated that religion and morality were necessary to good government. Governor Ray echoed the idea in 1824 as did the friends of Common Education in 1837. Mills repeated the belief in his addresses to the Indiana State Legislature, and in 1847, he stated that the Bible principles were too much a part of American society to be excluded from school curriculum. In Upper Canada a similar pattern occurred. Lt. Governor Gore stated that better subjects for God and Man could be made by teaching morality and religion in the schools. Strachan argued for education based on "Christian Virtue" in 1829. In 1836, Duncombe called for common schools to serve as moral and religious agents for government security. Ryerson reiterated the call in 1845.

School promoters also thought that schools should teach Christian morality in order to alleviate vice and crime. School systems that taught morality were hailed widely

as deterrents to laziness, drunkenness, and criminal activities, and as encouragements to soberness and honesty. Indiana's first Governor, Jonathan Jennings, considered education as "a restraint to vice." Governor Ray opined that there was no better method than public schools for "suppressing vice." The friends of Common Education resolved in 1837 "that a good common education" laid "the surest foundation for... social order." Furthermore, they claimed that without public schools ignorance would fill Indiana with crime and poverty. Ten years later, a committee from the first education convention in Indianapolis reported that crime in Indiana cost twice as much as an educational system would cost, implying that education could lesson crime.

Upper Canadians felt much the same about teaching morality in the schools in order to lighten the social burdens caused by vice and crime. Strachan asserted that "good public schools were essential to the peace" and "good order" of society. Duncombe argued that moral education was important in combating vices, especially laziness, juvenile crime, and the drunkenness of the older generations. Upper Canada's first school superintendent, Robert Murray, argued for tax-supported schools that used the Bible as a text. He stated that property owners would increase the value of their estates and secure them for future generations by protecting them in the present from a growing population of ignorant youths, intimating that ignorance bred idleness, which devalued property, and crime, which threatened its existence.

While school promoters concerned themselves with teaching people the morals and responsible attitudes necessary to fulfill the duties imparted with their newly acquired political equality, they also promoted education as a way to provide greater economic and social equity. In the first three-and-a-half decades after 1816, many school advocates argued that education could cultivate prosperity for individuals and society by teaching skills and inculcating industriousness. Here again morality would play an underlying role. Industry was one of the principles mentioned in Indiana's 1816 constitution, and schools were to promote, among other subjects, commerce and manufactures. Governor Ray also

listed industriousness as one of education's key principles, and he continued to state "It is one of the first duties of a government as well as of an individual to provide the means necessary for their own existence." Education, he felt, could provide the means. In his first address to the Indiana Assembly, Mills said that education would benefit the economy. In his second address he reported, from findings of his research, that a school system would produce skilled workers and supervisors and allow people to be more productive and earn more money.

Upper Canadian school advocates also argued that education would increase prosperity. Strachan declared that good public schools were essential to the prosperity of society. Superintendent Murray maintained that a state-regulated school system in which all children were educated would increase the value of the property in Upper Canada. In Ryerson's 1845 recommendations for a school system, he stated that "every youth of the land should be trained to industry and its practice." In his defense of the 1846 system, he argued that "education would make people prosperous." Clearly, school supporters in both Indiana and Upper Canada trusted that schools could supply the information, skills and industrious spirit that would form children into knowledgeable and efficient workers. Then, as individuals and as groups, they would produce more wealth. Under these circumstances, greater economic equality would be a possible result.

Jefferson also expected schools to raise up men with talent and ambition enough to become successful leaders. He perceived that greater educational opportunity would provide greater equality of opportunity for young men to become politicians, ministers and business leaders. Allowing those with native abilities to receive experience and training beyond their personal incomes and social status would also safeguard the country by providing as its leadership the smartest and most skilled. Indiana school advocates concurred. Indiana's 1816 State Constitution encouraged "intellectual, scientific and agricultural improvements" by prescribing universal schooling for the state. In 1824, Governor Ray stated that providing the means "for the education of all classes" was the

best method to bring "native genius to light and usefulness." In 1837 the friends of Common Education claimed that common schools were "necessary for the education" of Indiana's future statesmen, lawyers, physicians, divines and teachers. The 1850-51 constitution again called for universal schooling to encourage "moral, intellectual, scientific and agricultural improvements."

One of the first school promoters in Upper Canada echoed Jefferson's idea. In 1819, Strachan lobbied for scholarships for poor but deserving boys to continue their schooling past the elementary stages in order to cultivate the natural leadership of the colony. Thereafter, in his 1836 report, Duncombe stated that the Upper Canadian school system should train "an army of faithful, intelligent, enterprising, benevolent men" to be "leaders in the great enterprises of the day." In 1844, Ryerson offered his opinion that the latent intellect of Upper Canada was "the most precious wealth of the country" and that as superintendent of schools, he planned to develop it. So, Strachan, Duncombe and Ryerson, like Jefferson and Indiana school promoters, sought to maximize the quality of leadership in their country by equalizing educational opportunity.

Some of the arguments school advocates employed indicated that they recognized that a common educational experience could increase economic and social equality. Many public school promoters supported this outcome. Why else did Governor Ray urge Indiana legislators to educate the rich and the poor together? Subsequent Indiana public school supporters were more outspoken. The friends of Common Education stated that a public school system would promote both personal happiness and better social relations. In concordance, Mills said that an education system would benefit individuals and different social classes. The *Indiana State Journal* contended that free schools would benefit every child "upon an equality." Some Upper Canadians expected a school system to promote greater equity, too. Lt. Governor Gore argued for the 1816 school bill in part by asserting that the spread of schooling would "ameliorate the condition of the population." Duncombe's report stated that schools should "encourage social mobility," and develop

the "habit of self-dependence" so that men would learn to "make" themselves. It also stated that schools "should be sufficient to interest all classes... to avail themselves of them." A decade later, Minister Draper argued that property owners should help pay for the education of their poorer neighbors in order to "raise the lower classes in the scale of moral and intellectual beings."

These latter reasons for public schools given by school advocates in Indiana and Upper Canada subtly imply that the school systems envisioned would raise the social prospects for people. The lower and middling classes would possess more material wealth, more awareness of the world at large, more of the skills and knowledge helpful in the realm of business, labor and commerce, and more morality and discipline. These attainments from the school systems would render the masses more acceptable co-workers and neighbors, church brethren and fellow citizens. Therefore, the classes would be "raised up"; that is, more like the upper-middle and higher classes in terms of physical possessions and material tastes, and in attitudes, manners and values. Simultaneously, talented and ambitious individuals would acquire the opportunity to move from one social class to another, to become wealthier, and to gain power and authority in several spheres of life. Thus would schools provide greater social mobility; that is, the opportunity to become social and political "equals," and to gain greater economic advantage in the process.

School systems that could at once produce active, intelligent capable citizens ready to protect and promote their country with duty and honor, and raise up the masses intellectually, morally, materially and socially must be supported by the government, school advocates said. For, if the United States and the British empire existed by consent of the people and for the people as both the U.S. and British constitutions maintained, then providing an institution that would safeguard the people thus constituted while at the same time improving substantially their individual and collective situations was imperative. In Indiana, Governor Ray stated that "there was no subject more worthy the attention of

the representatives of a free people than that of providing means for the education of all classes of society." Twenty-two years later, Governor Whitcomb called education "a sacred *debt*" owed to "every son and daughter in Indiana." At the 1850-51 state constitutional convention delegate Hiram Allen argued that the "cause of common schools" should "call to its aid the universal sympathies and unflinching support" of the people of Indiana. Representative Beattie McClelland declared that the government "owed... every person a home and an education."

During the second decade of the nineteenth century, settlers who fell outside the Loyalist clique that benefited from the 1807 District School Act, petitioned the government to supply *all* Upper Canadians with resources to create schools. A few years afterwards, Strachan encouraged the government to act benevolently by providing education for the poorer inhabitants of the colony. In his 1828 school report, he claimed that neither "the sick nor the destitute" had greater claims on the public purse than "the ignorant." In 1836, Duncombe insisted that government sponsored and regulated education was a necessity for the changing political and social situations in the world. A decade later, Ryerson began his career as superintendent forcefully advocating the idea that a "responsible" government should effectively administer an educational system in the general interests of society. Subsequently, he worked until nearly his dying day to perfect such a school administration.

Indeed, as education history relates, many men in the early nineteenth century who held personal stakes in their nation's strong health, worked doggedly to create public school systems. Democratization meant that more people than ever before were to wield the reigns of power, to possess the wealth of property, and to speak in their neighborhoods, cities and states with voices that would bear influence in social, religious and political circles. As immigration multiplied on frontiers with cheap and abundant land, more and more people acquired the rights of citizenship. But, an increasing number held neither wealth nor political power. The leaders in society had to ask themselves: "How

will we accommodate so many? How can we weave into one people so many groups from different backgrounds with their endless varieties of language and custom? How can we safeguard our countries and protect the constitutions under which we live in the face of so many strangers?" Chapters 3 and 4 show the various answers that developed over the course of the first four decades of the nineteenth century. Ministers taught that all people were equal in the eyes of God, and thus, all were equally responsible to God for their actions. Therefore, everyone should learn to read the Bible so that they could fulfill their duties on earth. Statesmen declared that people should learn about their nation's or empire's histories, governments and political ideologies so that they would know how to fulfill their duties as citizens. Ministers and politicians turned to schools to spread morality and to diffuse knowledge among the people. They thought that, combined, these attributes would raise up disciplined people with similar values who would be responsible family members, industrious workers, honest neighbors, and loyal citizens. They thought a citizenry infused with these characteristics was necessary for the peace and well-being of free societies. They foresaw that instilling morality and knowledge would also serve as an advantage to the masses by bringing them up in the world socially, improving the existing classes of people and giving people the skills and attitudes that would allow them to be successful in the working world, and thus, to move upward. They hoped that by improving individuals in these ways, they could better society itself by building more prosperous communities and by averting the human vices that led to poverty and crime. In effect, their hopes for school systems included extending more political and social power to people by teaching them how to deal with it constructively; and they included in these hopes the growth of both overall and personal wealth by the increased industriousness of all people.

This paper shows that the development of greater political equity among North Americans prompted leaders to establish educational systems that would promote even more economic and social equity so that the largest numbers possible would have a stake



in their country and want to protect it and promote it. In the process, the leaders determined that they must, through schools, teach common values so that the very benefits of free societies they were endeavoring to extend would be safeguarded from anarchy and revolution. Was this a selfish attempt at control? No, but it did certainly include the element of self preservation. After all, it was the wealthier, more highly educated and acculturated sorts who promoted schools. They stood to protect their interests by creating schools that would teach shared values and instill discipline. And yet, working within the framework of democracy like that in Indiana and Upper Canada, these leaders realized their responsibility to the people they represented, to their constitutions charged with rhetoric about free men and their rights. Schools could protect their interests, yes, but they could spread the advantages of their free societies at the same time--and instruct people who had never had such privileges before in successful ways to retain them and make the most of them.

Thus, school promoters were neither demons nor saints. They neither wished to cut off the expansion of equality as defined in the English tradition, nor to give every man a truly equal share. As a group, they came closest to being realists--men who envisioned the opportunities afforded by developing democracy and oncoming capitalism, who wished to participate in their rich benefits, but who realized that the only way to do so in the changing environments in which they lived, was to share it with as many of their countrymen as possible. But, in order to experience the rewards as fully as promised, they needed to inculcate masses of people into the ways of the life they themselves enjoyed. Schools could do this--they offered opportunities for greater economic, political and social equality--if people assimilated the morality and the choice of the knowledge that came along with it. Over the decades after public schools were created, people in general indeed came to believe that state-instituted schools had actually generated greater equality of opportunity. Thus, from the latter part of the nineteenth century, the perception that schools foster equality became a significant part of the support for and belief in public



schools, as well as an important part of how Americans and Canadians thought they were generating greater equality in their societies.

The focus on the rhetoric and legislative actions of school promoters illuminates the interplay of social construction and unfolding definitions of equality in North America, especially in light of the comparison between public school creation in Indiana and Upper Canada. The study shows that public school systems derived not from the wish to create equality, but instead, from the desire to enjoy the benefits of it as fully as possible. The opening of opportunity to achieve equality and the spread of equality were products of that desire--in democratic societies with Christian values and burgeoning capitalism. For, these characteristics of America and Canada grew up alongside schools, and schools grew up because of them. Greater equality of landed wealth and legal and political rights engendered greater equality of income and of spiritual and social standing. Public schools were a vital, if not intended tool in achieving this result.

Thus, the stories told here of the formation of school systems in Indiana and Ontario offer significant insight into how Americans and British Canadians were defining equality in the post-revolutionary era. They reveal the interconnectedness of the development of political and social ideals and public institutions. They serve as a window onto how people in these areas dealt with challenges posed by untamed environments and swelling tides of immigrants, and they show the types of solutions pioneers and their progeny envisioned to resolve internal conflicts and to benefit from new spiritual and economic opportunities. However, the delineation of the story has just begun. It forms the basis for additional details and different perspectives.

The wealth of unexplored primary source material in Indiana beckons future scholars. For example, early schools administered by family members, neighbors and churches would make an important exploration for the times before the creation of public schools. Similarly, common schools that developed in conjunction with state laws from

1816 until the early 1840s promise interesting findings for rural areas and for villages and cities. In addition, comparative studies of private and public schools in the southern and northern parts of Indiana could focus the differences of worldviews and of approaches to democratic life between immigrants from the southern states and those from the middle Atlantic and New England regions. These studies could be further analyzed by inquiries into the relationships between family, community and schools, and into church initiatives regarding education. The changing experience of students over time, and the correlative changes in their status as family and community members would be an interesting part of this focus. The evolution of the teaching profession offers fascinating research, especially the story of how women in Indiana achieved the skills to teach and were gradually perceived as qualified and desired by local school boards and state school officials. Separate schools for Africans and Native Americans demand more attention. Also, the physical aspects of school buildings and school districts need examination.

A broader perspective might determine how families, communities, teachers and students affected the evolving political structures in the state, and, in turn, how they were affected by them. A similar focus would work for the changing religious, social and economic systems as well. Indeed, by connecting these inquiries back to general histories of the Old Northwest, and to comparisons of the northern and southern states, the history of education in Indiana would enhance an understanding of the evolution of political, religious, social and economic institutions in the United States. Furthermore, as this essay highlights, comparative studies between U.S. and Canadian education histories would make scholars aware of subtle distinctions and magnify similarities between the two nations and their histories.

For both historians of Indiana and Ontario, the rhetoric of people who opposed public school systems makes for an especially interesting view in light of the findings of this study. The comparison of the reasoning put forth by school promoters in Indiana and Upper Canada shows that at least large portions of the socially and financially advantaged

members of American and British Canadian societies shared a certain definable perspective about the future of their countries. Social and political leaders advocated the creation of public school systems by promoting the different benefits public schools could offer. By mid-century, the numerous, but disparate, arguments combined to form a vanguard for public school supporters. They actuated a coalescence of worldview regarding the United States or Canada, how the nations should function, and what life for their citizens should be.

Did a similar phenomenon occur among detractors of school systems? Tracing the growth of the varying rationales against public education would provide a sharper picture of who the state school systems' opponents were, what their ideas were, and what ideals they envisioned about the futures of the U.S. and Canada. For Upper Canada, scholars already present the realization that people at all levels in the chain of school participation affected the system after 1850. The questions there are: How did Upper Canadians who opposed government-regulated schooling affect it before 1850 as the struggle over public schools ensued, and how did they affect the school system after 1850 when they were given the legal basis to do so? Scholars of Indiana can profit from the Canadian studies. The pursuit of information about public school antagonists will give form and color to a parallel history of the North America that was lost. Moreover, it will bring to light definitions of values and ideologies that have continued to be cherished and promoted by people in America and Canada.

The progression of competing thought regarding freedom and equality that shaped the most fundamental American and Canadian concepts is central to an understanding of North American society and governance. Ongoing research into the history of education in the United States and Canada promises an exciting depth of insight into the evolution of this thinking. This paper highlights the reality that equality and freedom are living ideas whose meanings and boundaries can and do change. Education provides a critical engine

of that change. Indeed, the study of its development shows how North American societies choose the boundaries of freedom and equality.

## Appendix

Reference Guide, and Annotated Bibliography of Primary Source Material regarding  
Education from the Canadian National Archives and the Canadian National Library

*The topics and problems [the history of education] suggests are not restricted to those bearing on schools, teachers, and formal instruction, but touch on all the questions that arise from the effort to understand the process and content of cultural transfer in early American history. From this point of view the needs and opportunities for study are manifold, indeed limitless, shifting and multiplying with changes in historians' angles of vision and with developments in other areas of American history and in those related fields of social inquiry that affect the understanding of historical processes.*<sup>461</sup> (Bernard Bailyn, "A Bibliographic Essay," 1960)

### Reference Guide

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven, 1975.

*The American Intellectual Tradition, V. I, 1630-1865*. Eds. David A. Hollinger and Charles Capper. New York, 1993. ✓

Appleby, Joyce. "The Radical Recreation of the American Republic." *The William and Mary Quarterly*. 51 (Oct. 1994), 679-683.

Arnstein, Walter L. *Britain Yesterday & Today, 1830 to the Present*. Lexington, 1992.

Bachelder, Laura. "The Growth of Indiana's Public School System, 1785-1875."  
Unpublished M. A. paper for the Graduate School, Indiana University-Purdue  
University at Indianapolis, 1994.

---

<sup>461</sup> Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (New York, 1960), 53.

- Baer, M. Teresa. "Debate on the American Frontier: An Analysis of the Worldviews of Alexander Campbell and Robert Owen in April 1829." Unpublished M. A. paper for the Graduate School, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, 1994.
- Baer, M. Teresa. "Defining 'equality' in Ante-Bellum America: An Analysis of the Education Debates at the 1850-51 Indiana State Constitution Convention." Unpublished M. A. paper for the Graduate School, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, 1995.
- Bailey, Thomas A., and David M. Kennedy. *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*. V. I. Lexington, 1994.
- Bailyn, Bernard. *Education in the Forming of American Society*. New York, 1960. ✓
- Bailyn, Bernard. *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution*. New York, 1986. ✓
- Bass, Jeff D. "Levellers': The Economic Reduction of Political Equality in the Putney Debates, 1647." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 77 (1991), 427-445.
- Beard, Charles, and Mary R. Beard. *The Beards' Basic History of the United States*. New York, 1944.
- Berger, Carl. *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914*. Toronto, 1973.
- Berger, Carl. *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing Since 1900*. Toronto, 1986.
- Bergquist, James M. "Tracing the Origins of a Midwestern Culture: The Case of Central Indiana." *Indiana Magazine of History*. LXXVII (1981), 9-26.
- A Biographical Directory of the Indiana General Assembly, V. 1, 1816-1899*. Compilers and eds. Rebecca A. Shepherd, Charles W. Calhoun, Elizabeth Shanahan-Shoemaker and Alan F. January. Indianapolis, 1980.
- Blumin, Stuart M. "The Hypothesis of Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: A Critique and Some Proposals." *The American Historical Review*. 90 (Apr. 1985), 299-338.
- Bogle, Victor M. "A View of New Albany Society at Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Indiana Magazine of History*. LIV (June 1958), 93-118.
- Boone, Richard G. *A History of Education in Indiana*. Indianapolis, 1941.

- Bowden, Henry W. *Church History in the Age of Science: Historiographical Patterns in the United States, 1876-1918*. Carbondale, 1991.
- Buley, R. Carlyle. *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1815-1840*. V. 2. Bloomington, 1950.
- Campbell, Alexander. *The Evidences of Christianity: A Debate between Robert Owen, of New Lanark, Scotland, and Alexander Campbell, President of Bethany Coll. Va.; Containing an Examination of the "Social System," and "All the Systems of Skepticism of Ancient and Modern Times."* Cincinnati, 1852.
- Careless, J. M. S. *Canada: A Story of Challenge*. New York, 1965.
- Carmony, Donald F. *Indiana, 1816-1850: The Pioneer Period*. Indianapolis, 1998.
- Cayton, Andrew R. L. *Frontier Indiana*. Bloomington, 1996.
- Cayton, Andrew R. L., and Peter S. Onuf. *The Midwest and the Nation: Rethinking the History of an American Region*. Bloomington, 1990.
- Conflict and Continuity: A History of Ideas on Social Equality and Human Development*. Eds. John R. Snarey, Terrie Epstein, Carol Sienkiewicz and Philip Zolthiates. Cambridge, MA, 1981.
- Cook, Ramsay, *The Maple Leaf Forever: Essays on Nationalism and Politics in Canada*. Toronto, 1971.
- Cook, Ramsay, John Saywell and John Ricker. *Canada: A Modern Study*. Toronto, 1963.
- Corn, Kevin. "Barbarians at the Academy's Gates: Methodists and the Making of Indiana Higher Education." Unpublished M. A. paper for the Graduate School, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, 1994.
- Cornell, Paul G., Jean Hamelin, Fernand Ouellet, and Marcel Trudel. *Canada: Unity in Diversity*. Toronto, 1967.
- Creighton, Donald. *Canada's First Century, 1867-1967*. Toronto, 1970.
- Curtis, Bruce. *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871*. London, 1988.
- Curtis, Bruce. *True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education, and State Formation in Canada West*. Toronto, 1992.

- DeFoe, Daniel. *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*. London, 1971.
- De Tocqueville, Alexis. *Democracy in America*. Translator George Lawrence. New York, 1966.
- Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Eds. George W. Brown, David M. Hayne and Frances G. Halpenny. Toronto, 1966.
- Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*. Eds. Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly. New York, 1975.
- Eller, David B. "Hoosier Brethren and the Origins of the Restoration Movement." *Indiana Magazine of History*. LXXVI (Mar. 1980), 1-20.
- Esarey, Logan. *A History of Indiana from its Exploration to 1850*. Indianapolis, 1970.
- Essays on Education in the Early Republic*. Ed. Frederick Rudolph. Cambridge, MA, 1965.
- Family, School & Society in Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Eds. Alison L. Prentice and Susan E. Houston. Toronto, 1975.
- Formisano, Ronald P. "Toward a Reorientation of Jacksonian Politics: A Review of the Literature, 1959-1975." *The Journal of American History*. LXIII (June 1976), 42-65.
- Garraty, John A. *The American Nation: A History of the United States to 1877*. V. 1. New York, 1979.
- Gaustad, Edwin S. "History and Religion." *Modern American Protestantism and Its World: Historical Articles on Protestantism in American Religious Life*. V. 1. Ed. Martin E. Marty. Munich, 1992.
- Gidney, R. D., and W. P. J. Millar. *Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Montreal, 1990.
- Harris, Robin S. *Quiet Evolution: A Study of the Educational System of Ontario*. Canada, 1967.
- Hatch, Nathan O. "The Christian Movement and the Demand for a Theology of the People." *The Journal of American History*. 67 (Dec. 1980), 545-567.
- Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven, 1989.
- A Historical Atlas of Canada*. Ed. D. G. G. Kerr. Toronto, 1960.



- Historical Essays on Upper Canada*. Ed. J. K. Johnson. Toronto, 1975.
- Hollister, C. Warren. *The Making of England, 55 B. C. to 1399*. Lexington, 1988.
- Holt, Michael F. *The Political Crisis of the 1850s*. New York, 1978.
- Hoosier Schools Past and Present*. Ed. William J. Reese. Bloomington, 1998.
- Houston, Susan E., and Alison L. Prentice. *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Toronto, 1988.
- Hutchison, Bruce. *Canada: Tomorrow's Giant*. New York, 1957.
- An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History*. Ed. J. Donald Wilson. Vancouver, 1984.
- Jakle, John A. *Images of the Ohio Valley: A Historical Geography of Travel, 1740-1860*. New York, 1977.
- Journal of the Convention of the People of the State of Indiana to Amend the Constitution*. Indianapolis, 1851.
- The Journals of William E. McLellin, 1831-1836*. Eds. Jan Shipps and John W. Welch. Provo, UT, 1994.
- Kaestle, Carl E. *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860*. New York, 1983.
- Kaestle, Carl E. "Public Education in the Old Northwest: 'Necessary to Good Government and the Happiness of Mankind'." *Indiana Magazine of History*. (1988), 60-74.
- Keller, Clair W. "The Failure to Provide a Constitutional Guarantee on Representation." *Journal of the Early Republic*. 13 (Spring 1993), 23-26.
- Kettleborough, Charles. *Constitution Making in Indiana: A Source Book of Constitutional Documents with Historical Introduction and Critical Notes*. Indianapolis, 1971.
- Kulikoff, Allan. "The Transition to Capitalism in Rural America." *The William and Mary Quarterly*. XLVI (Jan. 1989), 120-144.
- LaFeber, Walter. *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad Since 1750*. New York, 1989.

- Landon, Fred. *Western Ontario and the American Frontier*. Toronto, 1941.
- Legislators and Legislatures of Ontario: A Reference Guide, V. 1, 1792-1866*. Compiler and ed. Debra Forman. Ontario, 1984.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada*. New York, 1990.
- Lower, Arthur R. M. *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada*. Toronto, 1946.
- Manzer, Ronald. *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective*. Toronto, 1994.
- Mathews, Donald G. "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830: An Hypothesis." *American Quarterly*. XXI (Spring 1969), 23-43.
- McGiffert, Michael. "How Revolutionary Was the Revolution?" *The William and Mary Quarterly*. 51 (Oct. 1994), 677-678.
- McKillop, A. B. *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791-1951*. Toronto, 1994.
- Middleton, Jesse Edgar, and Fred Landon. *The Province of Ontario: A History, 1615-1927*. V. I. Toronto, 1927.
- Monroe, Paul. *Founding of the American Public School System: A History of Education in the United States, from the Early Settlements to the Close of the Civil War Period*. New York, 1940.
- Moore, Charles W. *Caleb Mills and the Indiana School System*. Indianapolis, 1905.
- Morton, W. L. *The Canadian Identity*. Madison, WI, 1972.
- Morton, W. L. *The Kingdom of Canada: A General History from Earliest Times*. Indianapolis, 1963.
- News from the Land of Freedom*. Eds. Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich and Ulrike Sommer. Ithaca, 1988.
- Noll, Mark A. *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*. Grand Rapids, 1992.
- The Older Middle West, 1840-1880: Its Social, Economic and Political Life and Sectional Tendencies Before, During and After the Civil War*. The American Historical Assoc. New York, 1963.

- Onuf, Peter S. "From Constitution to Higher Law: The Reinterpretation of the Northwest Ordinance." *Ohio History*. 94 (Winter-Spring 1985), 5-33.
- Pathways to the Old Northwest: An Observance of the Bicentennial of the Northwest Ordinance: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Franklin College of Indiana, July 10-11, 1987*. Indiana Historical Society. Indianapolis, 1988.
- Peckham, Howard H. *Indiana: A History*. New York, 1978.
- Pole, J. R. *The Pursuit of Equality in American History*. Berkeley, 1978.
- Redenius, Charles. *The American Ideal of Equality from Jefferson's Declaration to the Burger Court*. Port Washington, NY, 1981.
- Report of the Debates and Proceedings of the Convention for the Revision of the Constitution of the State of Indiana. 1850*. Vs. I and II. Reporter H. Fowler. Indianapolis, 1850.
- Rioux, Mercel. *La Question du Quebec*. Montreal, 1980.
- Robins, Roger. "Vernacular American Landscape: Methodists, Camp Meetings, and Social Respectability." *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*. 4 (Summer 1994), 165-166.
- Rose, Gregory S. "Hoosier Origins: The Nativity of Indiana's United States-Born Population in 1850." *Indiana Magazine of History*. LXXXI (Sept. 1985), 201-232.
- Rose, Gregory S. "Upland Southerners: The County Origins of Southern Migrants to Indiana by 1850." *Indiana Magazine of History*. LXXXII (Sept. 1986), 242-263.
- Ross, George W. *Canada: An Encyclopaedia of the Country*. V. III. Ed. J. Castell Hopkins. Toronto, 1898.
- Ryerson, Egerton. *The Story of My Life*. Toronto, 1884.
- Sieber, Ellen, and Cheryl Ann Munson. *Looking at History: Indiana's Hoosier National Forest Region, 1600 to 1950*. Bloomington, 1992.
- Smith, Barbara Clark. "The Adequate Revolution." *The William and Mary Quarterly*. 51 (Oct. 1994), 684-692.
- Smith, Goldwin. *Canada and the Canadian Question*. Toronto, 1971.
- Smith, Lacey Baldwin. *This Realm of England, 1399 to 1688*. Lexington, 1983.

- Thomas Jefferson and Education in a Republic*. Ed. Charles Flinn Arrowood. New York, 1930.
- Van Bolt, Roger H. "The Rise of the Republican Party in Indiana, 1855-1856." *Indiana Magazine of History*. LI (Sept. 1955), 185-220.
- Wallace, Anthony F. C. *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution*. New York, 1978.
- Watson, Harry L. *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America*. New York, 1990.
- Westfall, William. *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Kingston and Montreal, 1989.
- White, Randall. *Ontario, 1610-1985: A Political and Economic History*. Toronto and London, 1985.
- Willcox, William B., and Walter L. Arnstein. *The Age of Aristocracy, 1688 to 1830*. Lexington, 1992.
- Wood, Gordon S. "Equality and Social Conflict in the American Revolution." *The William and Mary Quarterly*. 51 (Oct. 1994), 703-716.
- Wood, Gordon S., and J. R. Pole. *Social Radicalism and the Idea of Equality in the American Revolution*. Houston, 1976.
- Wood, Gordon S. *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*. New York, 1992.
- Wrigley, E. A. *Continuity, Chance & Change: The Character of the Industrial Revolution in England*. Cambridge, England, 1988.
- Zuckerman, Michael. "Rhetoric, Reality, and the Revolution: The Genteel Radicalism of Gordon Wood." *The William and Mary Quarterly*. 51 (Oct. 1994), 693-702.

## Annotated Bibliography of Primary Sources Pertaining to Canadian Educational History

*The Consolidated Statutes for Upper Canada.* Toronto: Stewart Derbishire and George Desbarats, Law Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1859.

Title 8. Education:

Cap. LXII. An Act Respecting the University of Toronto, University College, and Upper Canada College and Royal Grammar School, 702-719.

Cap. LXIII. An Act Respecting Grammar Schools, 719-727.

Cap. LXIV. An Act Respecting Common Schools in Upper Canada, 728-768.

Cap. LXV. An Act Respecting Separate Schools, 768-774.

*Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada.* Ed. Elizabeth Nish. Montreal: Presses De L'Ecole Des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, 1970.

Debates regarding the education issue in Upper Canada:

1841: 354-359, 1044-1047.

1842: 418-421.

1843: 776-779, 798-801, 932-935, 1250-1251.

1844-1845: 2116-2119, 2630-2633.

1846: 220-223, 244-245, 564-569, 592-595, 662-663, 818-821, 844-849, 1420-1423, 1478-1479, 1516-1517, 2000-2005.

1847: 156-157, 1024-1027, 1244-1245.

1848: 686-687.

1849: 280-281, 316-317, 950-953, 1026-1029, 1176-1177, 1872-1873, 2200-2203, 2474-2475, 2520-2521, 2526-2527, 2534-2535, 2566-2569.

Itemized "General Estimate of the Probable Amount of the Public Expenditure and Net Revenue of the Consolidated Fund of the Province of Canada, for the Year 1850," *Montreal Gazette*, 26 July 1850, 2, col. 2.

*Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, 1841-1866.*

Washington, D.C.: The United States Historical Documents Institute, 1970s-Present.

1841:

"Index," xv-xvii and xlix.

Petition of William King, et al., in the Townships of Bury and Lynwick, stating the "utter impossibility" of providing for schools by "private contributions," and asking that the Bible be taught, in its entirety, in the schools, 35.

Motion for appointing standing committees, including one for education and schools, 37.

"Petition from Clergymen & Members of the Church of England praying that the bible, entire, may be used in schools as a class book," and stating that "it is the duty of every wise and beneficent Government to provide, for all classes of its subjects, the means of a sufficient Education...", " 69-70.

"Ordered... to bring in a Bill for the establishment of Anatomical Schools...", " 71.

"Petition from Stanstead for the Bible to be used, as a class Book, in schools.", " 95.

Resolution for the whole House to provide for "establishing and maintenance of Common Schools in this Province," 190.

"Bill for support of Common Schools brought in and read," 210.

Affirmative vote for referring to committee of whole House to repeal existing acts regarding schools, 293.

House in committee on common school bills makes amendments to same, 585.

Resolution to repeal "An Act to provide for the advancement of Education in this Province," and ordered to make temporary provisions for appropriation of school funds, 586-587.

Common school bill passed, 594.

1843:

"List of Appendix," 3 p.

"Appendix (M.): Lists of Educational Institutions in [Upper and Lower Canada], receiving Grants for the year 1842," 12 Oct. 1843, 1 p.

"Appendix (Z.): Documents. Which accompanied the Message of His Excellency the Governor General to the Legislative Assembly, relating to the Act for the establishment and maintenance of Common Schools, dated 25 October, 1843."

Consists of seven reports:

No. 1, "Report of a Committee of the Executive Council on the subject of the distribution of the appropriation for the support of Common Schools." Approved 13 Jan. 1843.

No. 2, "Report of a Committee of the Executive Council on a Memorial from the Municipal Council of the District of Victoria." Approved, 16 Mar. 1843.

No. 3, "Report of a Committee of the Executive Council, on an application from the Warden of the Midland District." Approved 4 Apr. 1843.

No. 4, "Report of a Committee of the Executive Council, on the subject of the distribution of the appropriation made for the support of Common Schools in Eastern Canada." Approved 17 Aug. 1843.

No. 5, "Table of the Elementary Schools in operation in Canada East, which have a claim to the Government Allocation for the year 1842, according to the population and to the degree of conformity of the Inhabitants to the requirements of the Common School Act in each Municipal District respectively, as they have been reported."

No. 6, "Statement shewing the payments made and sums owing on the appropriation of [20,000 pounds] Currency, for Common Schools in Canada West, for 1842."

No. 7, "Statistical Report on Education in Canada East, for 1842." Submitted 10 July 1843.

Appendix Z also includes the following:

1) "Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada, for the year 1842," 7 Nov. 1843, including:

- a) "The account given in by the Superintendent of Public Instruction."
- b) "The developement of the propositions which refer more particularly to the direction of Public Instruction."
- c) "The developement of the propositions which refer more particularly to the means of furnishing the requisite funds."
- d) Extracts from letters on the subject of "Education from the School Commissioners and others, especially Members of the Clergy of each Parish or Township, for the year 1842."

2) "Annual Report of the Deputy Superintendent of Education on Common Schools throughout Canada West," 14 Nov. 1843, including "Statistical Schedule for 1842" regarding monies expended for teachers, school houses, fuel, books and miscellaneous expenditures, 51 p.

1844-1845:

"Appendix (C. C. C.): Return to an Address from the Legislative Assembly to His Excellency the Governor General, bearing date the 8th day of January, 1845, praying for 'a Tabular Statement of each of the Scholastic Institutions, to which an annual grant is made from the Funds of the Province, stating the number of Pupils in each'." 19 Mar. 1845, 4 p.

"Appendix (N. N.): Report. The Select Committee appointed to enquire into the present method of disposing of the Crown, Clergy and School Lands, the amount collected and paid, from year to year, into the Public Revenue or any other Fund, from the proceeds thereof,--expenses attending the same, and from what Fund paid, including the Receipt and Expenditure of the Territorial Revenue, with power to report on the best method of appropriating the proceeds of the said Lands...." 7 Mar. [1845], 28 p.

"Appendix (P. P.): Return To an Address of the Legislative Assembly to His Excellency the Governor General, praying that His Excellency would cause to be laid before the House, a Statement in a Tabular form of all Sums of Money which have been expended from the Public Treasuries of the several Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, for Public Improvements and Education, in each of the several Counties and Ridings in this Province, since the year 1830, specifying the authority under which such expenditure was made, and the several times of making such expenditure." 6 Mar. 1845, 9 p.

1846:

Excerpts from "Appendix (C.): Public Accounts for the Province of Canada, for the year 1845." Apr. 1846, 4 p.

"Appendix (P.): Annual Report of the Assistant Superintendent of Education on the state of Common Schools throughout Canada West, for the year 1844." 18 May [1845]; and "Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada. By Egerton Ryerson." 6 Apr. 1846, 28 p., and 48 p., respectively.

1849:

"Appendix (F.): Annual Report of Normal, Model, and Common Schools in Upper Canada, for the year 1847: with an Appendix. By the Chief Superintendent of Schools." 1849, 22 p.

"Appendix (Z.Z.Z.Z.): Annual Report of the Normal, Model & Common Schools, in Upper Canada, for the year 1848. With an Appendix by the Chief Superintendent of Schools." 19 May 1849, 11 p.

1849-1850:

"Appendix (N.): Report on The School Law of Upper Canada [being a] Copy of a Report on the School Law, and Explanatory Remarks, accompanying a Draft of Bill, making further provision for the Improvement of the System of Common Schools." 5 June [1850], 43 p.

1850:

"Appendix (X.X.): Annual Report of the Normal, Model, and Common Schools in Upper Canada, for the year 1849." 8 Aug. 1850, 18 p.



1851:

"Appendix (K. K.): Report on Education in Lower Canada, Followed by Statistical Tables for the School year 1849-50." 12 June 1851, and "Annual Report of the Normal, Model & Common Schools in Upper Canada. For the year 1850: with an Appendix. By the Chief Superintendent of Schools." 1851, 2 p., and 14 p., respectively.

*Province of Canada Statutes.* Montreal: Stewart Derbishire & George Desbarats, Law Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty:

- Cap. XVIII. An Act to Repeal Certain Acts Therein Mentioned and to Make Further Provision for the Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools Throughout the Province. [18th September 1841], 102-113.
- Cap. XIX. An Act to Make Temporary Provision for the Appropriation of Funds Derived from the Sale of School Lands in that Part of the Province Formerly Upper Canada, and for Other Purposes. [18th September 1841], 113-115.
- Cap. LII. An Act to Compel All Candidates at any Future Elections for Members of the Legislative Assembly to Make and Subscribe Detailed Declarations of the Property by Them Possessed, and Under which They Qualify. [18th September 1841], 296-297.
- Cap. IX. An Act Further to Provide for the Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools, and for Apportioning the Fund for the Support of the Same, and also to Grant an Indemnity for the Payment of Certain Portions of the School Monies for the Year {1842} and Further to Provide for the Apportionment and Distribution of the Balance of the Said Monies for the Years {1842} and {1843}. [9th December 1843], 30-32.
- Cap. XXIX. An Act for the Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada. [9th December 1843], 217-236.
- Cap. XLI. An Act to Make Better Provision for Elementary Instruction in Lower Canada. [29th March 1845], 235-248.
- Cap. XVII. An Act to Provide for Vesting in Trustees the Sites of Schools in that Part of this Province called Upper Canada. [18 May 1846].
- Cap XIX. An Act to Amend the Act Therein Mentioned, Relating to the Appropriation of Monies Derived from the Sale of School Lands in Upper Canada. [18th May 1846], 726.
- Cap. XX. An Act for the Better Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada. [23rd May 1846], 727-741.
- Cap. L. An Act to Amend the School Law of Lower-Canada. [30th May 1849], 333-341.
- Cap. LXXXIII. An Act for the Better Establishment and Maintenance of Public Schools in Upper Canada, and for Repealing the Present School Act. [30th May 1849], 563-587.
- Cap. XLVIII. An Act for the Better Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada. [24th July 1850], 1255-1274.

Cap. CXXV. An Act to Repeal the Provision Limiting the Distance Between the County, Town and any Additional Grammar School in the Same County in Upper Canada. [30th August 1851], 2150.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 5, S/24, John George Hodgins, V. 55-108:  
Prospectus of a monthly journal of education for Upper Canada, Toronto, Education Office, Dec. 1847, 8.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 9, D 8-20, London District Misc., 1821-1885:  
Teacher certification for Duncan McCallum, Auldborough, 11 May 1831.  
Teacher certification for Henry Katzeback, Boyham, 1 June 1832.  
Teacher certification for Alexander Weldon, Southwold Township, 20 Nov. 1835.  
"Statement of Receipts and Expenditure on account of the Common Schools of the District of London for the year 1848," with school assessments, 1848, 6 p.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 9, D 8-26 to D 8-45:  
"Annual Report to the Superintendent of Education by the Municipal Council[s]," 31 Dec. 184[?], 4 p.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 9, D 8-45:  
Letter from Egerton Ryerson, Education Office, Toronto, to A. D. Ferrier, Clerk, United Counties of Wellington, Waterloo, Grey and Guelph, stating that Ryerson is unauthorized to make an apportionment of the school grant and explaining the said system, 10 April 1852, 1 p.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 23, G II 0, V. 5:  
Excerpt from a letter from [?] Lonk to Jonathan Sewell, regarding the school bill, 10 Feb. 1814, 2184-2185, 2188.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 23, H II 6, William von Moll Berczy Collection, V. 4:  
Biographical information from the Finding Aid for William von Moll Berczy, 3 p.  
Reports of the Western District School for 1828 and 1829, 865-867.  
Report of the select committee to which was referred the petition of David Burns, and others, inhabitants of the county of Oxford, regarding substantially increased funding for common schools; and draft of an address to the King requesting same, 26 Dec. 1830, 868-869.  
House of Assembly "Bill for the more General Diffusion of Education throughout the Province," 1831, 5 p.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, B 14, L. H. LaFontaine Collection, "School Act, April 22, 1849 and August 29, 1853":  
Petition to the Legislative Assembly of Canada regarding education in Canada East, [after 1841], #001222.

Notes regarding education in Canada and changes to the current school acts, in French, undated, #001223.

Notes regarding Superintendent Meuller's report regarding school act in effect in Canada East, [after 1841], #001224.

Report regarding a circular sent by Superintendent Meuller to 340 municipalities regarding the present school act, in French, [after 1841], #001225.

Notes regarding education in Canada and changes to the current school acts, in English, undated, #001226.

"Memorandum for the School Act" regarding assessment of landed property and income for particular positions, undated, #001227.

Table indicating the cost of the proposed system for public instruction, in French, undated, #001228.

Notes regarding the school act project, in French, undated, #001229.

Notes regarding School Act of 1840, in French, undated, #001231.

"A List of the several Orders in Council, apportioning between Lower and Upper Canada, the Common School Fund created by the Act of 1844," undated, #001232.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, D 101, William Stewart and Family Collection,

"Stewart, William. Correspondence and Reports. Schools. 1854-1856," Vs. 1-4 and 7:

Biographical information from the Finding Aid regarding William Stewart, Superintendent of Common Schools in Ottawa, 1854-1856, 7 p.

Letter from [William] S[tewart] to Rev. [D.] Dandurand asking for the Roman Catholic population in Ottawa aged 5 to 16, 14 May 1855, 1 p.

Letter from Rev. Dandurand to William Stewart in reply to Stewart's letter, dividing numbers of Catholics between French and Irish, Scottish and others, 15 May 1855, 2 p.

Letter from William Stewart to the chief superintendent regarding school age children in Ottawa, 16 May 1855, 2 p.

Letter from William Stewart to Dr. Ryerson regarding separate schools in Ottawa, 30 May 1855, 1 p.

James Fraser to William Stewart, regarding manner of making school reports, 11 June 1855, 1 p.

Adam Robinson, Teacher, to William Stewart regarding quarterly examinations, June 1855, 1 p.

James Fraser to William Stewart regarding school reports and salaries, 3 July 1855, 1 p.

Peter Nolan to William Stewart regarding school examination, 21 July 1855, 1 p.

C. Waugh to William Stewart stating that Stewart has been re-elected school trustee, 9 Jan. 1856, 1 p.

John Monaghan, Trustee, to William Stewart requesting aid in retaining desks and forms, 20 Feb. 1856, 1 p.

Bytown School Reports and expenditures for 1854, Jan. 1855, 3 p.

- "Statistics of the Common Schools of the City of Ottawa for the half-year ending December the 31st 1855 shewing the number of Schools and Scholars in each ward separately, and the whole recapitulated collectively for the City," 31 Dec. 1855, 6 p.
- Minutes of committee meeting regarding schools, undated, 2 p.
- School trustees provisional meeting notes regarding naming teachers for a new school in a ward of Ottawa, 18 Jan. [?], 2 p.
- William Stewart to the Ottawa Board of School Trustees, reports on his visits to the schools with schedule for next visits in December, Sept. 1855, 4 p.
- William Stewart to the Ottawa Board of School Trustees, requesting that certain days for school examinations be fixed so that members of the board may be present, undated, 1 p.
- William Stewart and finance committee to the Ottawa Board of School Trustees, "School Statistics for the half-year ending June 1855 for the City of Ottawa," and estimates for money needed for schools in 1855, July 1855, 7 p.
- Ottawa Board of School Trustees to "Mayor Holermen & [the] commonality of Ottawa," requesting Ottawa to establish several wards of the city as separate school sections, with brief school returns for 1854 and probable expenses estimates, c. 1854, 3 p.
- John Monaghan, Return of Ottawa School Ward, Apr. 1855, 1 p.
- Reports for school receipts and expenses for Ottawa, 1854 and 1855, printed, with notice regarding next meeting of Board of Public Instruction, 14 Jan. 1856, 1 p.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, I 9, Hill Collection:

- V. 1:
- Hamnett Pinhey to unknown correspondent with insertions [amendments] for a resolution regarding a bill for a better system of education, suggested regulations for a model school, and an editorial regarding education, undated, 41-42.
- V. 2:
- John M. Bruce, St. Georges, to unknown correspondent complaining that the trustees who hired him as school teacher broke their contract with him as far as the amount of his wages, 13 Aug. 1827, 365-366.
- Barry Workman to Dr. Christie, letter of recommendation for M. Murray, Teacher, Union School, 582-[584].
- V. 3:
- Barry Workman to Dr. Christie asking the likelihood of a district school being opened in Bytown, 8 Jan. 1833, 639-640.
- V. 5:
- S. Derbishire, Kingston, to [Dr]. Christie, Bytown, regarding position as superintendent of schools, 14 Nov. 1841, 1318-1321.

- S. Derbshire to Dr. Christie stating that superintendency has already been promised and asking Christie to send a list of positions available under the new school bill for which he would be interested, 17 Nov. 1841, 1322-1323.
- S. Derbshire to Dr. Christie reporting on the activities of the Legislative Assembly, including a section about schools. Derbshire instructs Christie to go to work for the new Dalhousie District, 9 Apr. 1842, 1388-1395.
- S. Derbshire to Dr. Christie informing him that the trustees have been named for the district, and that one man was chosen because he had a relative in the [Executive?] Council and that likely all were chosen that way, 29 Dec. 1842, 1525-1528.
- S. Derbshire to Dr. Christie with passage regarding school trustees' names and asking for a substitute for one from the "Methodist persuasion." Derbshire states that the Reverends will "get in" as trustees. 9 Jan. 1843, 1535-1538.
- A[lexander] Mackenzie to Dr. Christie thanking Christie for 10 pounds towards Master Alex[ander]'s schooling, 24 Jan. 1843, 1546-1547.

V. 6:

- J. Thovhum, Principal of the Ottawa Grammar School, to Alex[ander] Christie inviting Christie to participate in the semi-annual examination of the grammar school, 19 Dec. 1868, 1760-1761.
- To the Warden and Council of the District of Dalhousie from a petitioner who states that 60 pounds are due for the creation of the [Evainty?] Model School, undated, 1895-1896.
- Report of a session of the [Bytown] Council to [T. N.?] Christie regarding reforms that need to be made to the present school bill regarding the payment of teachers and of the superintendent of education. Also, a district model school was confirmed, [March 1844], 1924-1928.
- [Bytown Council], Motion carried for creation of district model school to create a uniform system of common school education throughout the district, with details as to how teachers will be examined and paid, and statement that taxes will be assessed on all ratable property in the district to the amount of one-eighth of one penny to the pound of property value, [March 1844], 1929.
- Bytown Council Resolution that Hamnett Pinh[e]y, District Superintendent of Common Schools, has received a warrant upon the receiver general for funds to distribute to the teachers of the common schools in the district upon receipt of proper school reports for 1843 and with the signatures of the trustees of the several schools, [March 1844], 1930.

V. 8:

Detailed receipt from W. B. Neely to Tho[ma]s Christie including one pound, 10 shillings for tuition, 14 Mar. 1847, 2408-2409.

Bills and receipts, in pounds initially, and dollars later, to Alexander Christie for school tuition, books, firewood and misc. expenses for James and Alexander Christie, 1855-1858, 2414-2427.

Report cards for Tho[ma]s Christie including complete list of subjects learned, Summer and Winter terms, 1863, 2437-2438.

V. 9:

Mrs. S. Read to Mr. Pinchey [sic] stating "that when she opened a study for the benefit of her own children & those of her immediate neighbours (her equals) she did not open a charity school...", 3 Dec. 1827, 2687-2689.

Mr. [Enau] Read to Mr. Pinchey [sic] explaining Mrs. S. Read's anger in her letter of 3 Dec. 1827. Mr. Read states that by suggesting to a housekeeper to send her son to Mrs. Read's school instead of across the river where he would "get the Yankee Whine," Mr. Pinchey has supported the lower class in aspiring to equality with the social class to which the Reads feel they belong, and lowered this latter class in the process, 12 Dec. 1827, 2692-2694.

V. 10:

Joseph Hinton to Hamnett Pinh[e]y, District Superintendent of Education, requesting that Pinhey certify Tho[ma]s Saunders as teacher, and stating that the new school law rejects all teachers while at the same time "nests" of children in new settlements need the most rudimentary schooling that teachers like Saunders would "answer Quite as well as a Classical Scholar." 17 Feb. 1847, 2921-2922.

Letter with unknown correspondents stating that the recipient does not meet the scholastic requirements for a District Teacher's Certificate, but stating that if a school will be established and the trustees recommend him as teacher, he will be given a one-year certificate to teach at said school, with coded message on cover and name James Jaz, 23 Apr. 1847, 2960-2961.

Hamnett Pinhey to J. R. Lewis regarding raising the funds to pay a good teacher 60 pounds to keep him, 6 June 1847, 2963.

Ja[me]s Grierson, Common School Commissioner, to Hamnett Pinh[e]y regarding the insistence of William Ross, common school Teacher, that he be paid in accordance with the agreement made by them in 1843. Grierson states that because the township had no legally appointed school officers, and the residents did not pay a school tax, Ross should receive half his salary from his school subscribers directly; with letter from Ross to Grierson requesting his signature on a paper that outlines the 1843 agreement, 17 July 1847, 2968-2971.

W[illia]m Ross to James Grierson addressing his complaint that the trustees withheld paying him parliamentary school funds according to their 1843 agreement, 6 Mar. 1847, 2972-2973.

Circular from Henry S. Reed, Warden, Dalhousie District, to the wardens of the district regarding "the propriety of introducing to the notice of the Legislature the great difficulties experienced in carrying out the provisions of the new School Act, and to invite them to unite in obtaining the entire abolition of the Act, or material alterations therein." 30 Sept. 1847, 2994-2995.

John Carry to Hamnett Pinhey requesting raise for teaching from 56 pounds to 60 pounds, 2 Oct. 1847, 2997, 2998, and 3002.

John Carry, Teacher at Bytown District Model School, to Hamnet[t] Pinhey, with order from Trustees of Bytown Model School to pay teacher 10 pounds, 11 Oct. 1847, 3004-3005.

John Carry to Hamnett Pinhey requesting assistance in receipt of monies for support of the model school as set out in district council minutes, with ultimatum of Carry's resignation if said support is not forthcoming, 5 Feb. 1848, 3014-3016.

H[amnett] P[inhey] to unknown correspondent, rough draft of a letter regarding a deserving teacher who was crowded out of his position by two experienced teachers, one an Englishman, the other a Scotsman, 23 June 1849, 3031.

District Superintendent of Education to "Gentlemen" requesting that they comply with the common school act so that he can distribute 500 pounds from the school fund to the teachers who have earned it and for whom it is past due, stating that although the school act is unpopular throughout the province, it was passed by all the districts and should be given a fair trial, undated, 3061-3062.

V. 11:

Hamnett Pinh[e]y, possible editorial about 1841 Act of Union with its unpopular sections regarding common schools, [after 1841], 3275-3279.

"Common School Fund, District of Dalhousie, We the Teachers have received out of the Parliamentary Grant the sums against which our signatures are subscribed." With draft reports on number of students in each school and payments made to teachers, [after 1843] 3280, 3417, 3418 and 3424.

H[amnett] Pinh[e]y, By Laws No. 23-25 regarding tuition for model school, division of scholars into classes, and stating that the government grant should be paid because 1000 pounds were paid by the residents to district common school teachers (which was three times as much as the grant), 13-15 Feb. 1845, 3412.



V. 12:

Dr. McGregor Easson, Chief Inspector, City of Ottawa Public School Board to H. P. Hill, K. C., regarding historic documents relating to schools, with excerpt about the first meeting of the Board of Common School Trustees of the Town of Bytown in 1848, 14 Mar. 1941, 3721-3722.

Printed excerpts from the "Annual Report of Common Schools in Upper Canada for the Year 1845-6 by the Chief Superintendent of Schools"; and the "Annual Report of the Normal, Model and Common Schools, in Upper Canada, for the Year 1848, by the Chief Superintendent of Schools," [after 1848], 3727.

Notes regarding the teachers and superintendents in and near Bytown from 1834-1855, undated, 3750-3751.

V. 19:

William A. Ross, Teacher of Forbolton School, to Misters Grierson and McLeren asking for calculations of his bill from 26 June 1842 to present, 28 Sept. 1843, 4828-4829.

William A. Ross to Capt. Grierson, cover letter for statement of account for Forbolton School from 16 July 1842 to present at rate of 5 [?] per month per pupil, 7 Oct. 1843, 4831-4832.

V. 20:

[E. B. Grierson] to Daniels McLachlin, Quebec, requesting the latter's endorsement for a French Canadian to be appointed to the county board of education in hopes of achieving "Equal right," 20 Sept. 1852, 5019.

Series of letters from J. B. Lewis, Ottawa, to Misters E. and H. Tylee, London, England, regarding sale of their lands in Ottawa City, part of which is for erection of normal school to be paid jointly by Queen's government and the citizens of Ottawa, 1873-1874, 5352-5362.

E. and H. Tylee, Wickham and Moberly to H. C. Henderson, Rideau Club, Ottawa, regarding sale of lots in Ottawa for normal school, 13 June 187[?], 5370-5376.

V. 21:

Paper entitled "Love your Country" signed by John M. Grant regarding raising funds from society to aid government efforts to teach poor children the basic acquirements of reading, spelling, writing and arithmetic, and arguing that proper teachers should have the requisite skills and possess good moral character, undated, 5446.

V. 23:

[Memorial?] regarding the payment of the teacher at Forbolton School, William A. Ross, including agreement between teacher and subscribers, notes about the teacher's pay, and receipts for tuition for several Grierson children, 1842-1844, 5937-5946.



"Premiso," consisting of defense of accusation of misuse of school funds, unsigned, undated, 5993.

"Apportionment of Provincial Grant to Common Schools for the Dalhousie District, 1845" from the superintendent of education, 1845, 6061-6062.

Report of Common Schools for 1844 to Rev. A. [Mannaby?], including notes entitled "Parliamentary Grant for 1844 paid by me, 1845"; and a "List of the Common School Teachers in the District of Dalhousie to whom has been paid the Parliamentary Grant for the year last past ending the 31 Dec. 1844," by the district superintendent of common schools, 24 Ma[r?] 1845, 6066-6070.

"Annual Report of Hogsback School, Section No. 9, Township of Napéan, for the year ending 31 December 1848," by J[a]m[e]s Clarke, Teacher, 1849, 6119.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, I 18, Kenneth McPherson Papers, V. 4:

School Notice to elect trustees in the Township of Lancaster, 27 Dec. 1853, #956.

Letter informing unknown correspondent that the quarterly examination of Lancaster School, Section No. 3, will occur on 22 Dec. 1854, 16 Dec. 1854, #957.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, I 33, Jacob Keefer and Family, Misc., 1827-1856: Jacob Keefer's diary of inspecting school districts, 14 Oct.-5 Dec. 1845, 1-37.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, I 108, George Easton Papers: Diary of a teacher, 4 May 1837 and 5 June 1838, 60-61, 86-87.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, J 1, John Strachan Papers:

Excerpts from John Strachan Papers Finding Aid, 4 p.

"Extract of a despatch from the Rt. Hon. Earl Bathurst to H. E. Major General Sir Peregrine Maitland, conveying His Majesty's consent for the appropriation of a portion 'of the Reserves set aside for the establishment of a University for the support of schools on the national plan of education'." [Finding Aid], Feb. 1823, 2 p.

"Copy of petition to H. E. Sir Peregrine Maitland from the President and Members of the Board of the General Superintendence of Education in Upper Canada, concerning school lands." [Finding Aid], Requests replacement of lands used with lands of equal value, 1823, 3 p.

"Extract from a Letter addressed to Mr. Partlock, Royall Engineers, by T. G. Anderson, Esqr., Resident Agent for Indian Affairs at Drummond's Island, Lake Huron. Asks help for 'the instruction and civilization of the natives of this country.' Tells of the progress made by some of the Indian children in school." [Finding Aid], 6 Nov. 1826, 1 p.

"Some answers to queries of Bishop McDonell in 1827, as to the education of Indian children." [Finding Aid], From an unknown correspondent regarding natives in area of Lake Huron islands. Sender states that Protestant missionaries would be better than Roman Catholics, c. 1828, 3 p.

Excerpt from a "Journal of a tour through Upper Canada by Archdeacon Strachan, August 19th-October 23, 1828." Reports upon his visit to Gore District School and 25 common schools with 596 pupils in the district, 27 Aug. 1828, 11-12.

"Resolutions passed by Legislative Council in reply to Sir John Colborne's message concerning changes in terms of the Charter of King's College... and that it is expedient to connect the Royal Grammar School with the University," [Finding Aid], 19 Mar. 1829, 2 p.

"Memorandum of the [Lt.] Governor submitted to the Executive Council concerning lands for schools and the University." [Finding Aid], States that Central Township Schools should be endowed, and qualified masters hired to teach in them, May 1830, 1 p.

Despatch from Lord Goderick to John Strachan asking for information concerning lands set apart for education in Upper Canada divided between university or college lands and lands reserved for district grammar schools, with notes concerning same, 25 June 1831, 4 p.

Letter from Thomas Talbot to [Strachan] the Archdeacon of York protesting the council report regarding the district school lands, stating that the plan is absurd because by it the districts are to sell the reserved land within their boundaries, but most of the land lies in one district, 30 June 1831, 4 p.

Excerpt from a treatise by the Rev. John Strachan on the history of the dispute regarding the use of the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada, c. 1830s, 19-22.

Letter from John Strachan to Mr. Lockhart regarding religious education in Canada, 16 Oct. 1850, 2 p.

Letter from P. B. de Blaquiére, Yorkville, to [Strachan] the Bishop of Toronto stating that he "is ready to support the Bill for the incorporation of Trinity College if it is "for a Theological College for the Church of England in Upper Canada... but if the Bill seeks to establish a University or College for secular instruction exclusively for the use of the members of the Church of England... I will strenuously oppose such a measure... because its tendency must unquestionably be to separate the members of our Church from their brethren of other religious denominations... [and would be] entirely subversive of those principles essentially necessary in the adaptation of education to a mixed community, without prejudice

to the religious feelings of any, where all justly claim & enjoy equal rights, & calculated to undermine & destroy the harmonious working of our national education..." 19 May 1851, 3 p.

A. N. Morin, Secretary to the Governor General, to [Strachan] Bishop of Toronto acknowledging his memorial praying for the establishment of separate [religious] common schools in Upper Canada, 20 Oct. 1852, 1 p.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, K 15, Adolphus Egerton Ryerson Collection, 1783-1946:

Letter from Lord Lansdowne to [Egerton] Ryerson rejecting Ryerson's bid for assistance regarding the education issue in Canada, 1 March 1837, 2 p.

Letter from King's secretary, Taylor, to E[gerton] Ryerson stating that the King will endorse Ryerson's education plan for Canada to Parliament, 6 March 1837, 2 p.

Letter from John Conroy to Egerton Ryerson on behalf of the Duke of Kent stating that the Duke will donate money to the cause of education in Canada, 11 March 1837, 1 p.

Letter of recommendation from the Marquis of Lansdowne for [Egerton] Ryerson, 18 March [1837], 3 pp.

Official document appointing Egerton Ryerson as Superintendent of Public Schools in Upper Canada, 12 June 1846.

Official document appointing Egerton Ryerson a special member of the Senate of the University at Toronto and over the Royal Grammar School, 18 July 1851.

Letter from J. B. Macauley recommending Egerton Ryerson for assistance in establishing libraries throughout Upper Canada, 13 November 18[53?], 3 p.

Official recommendation from Belgium's Minister of the Interior to Belgium's officials of public instruction to assist Egerton Ryerson in every possible way, in French, 4 March 1845, 1 p.

Letter regarding [Egerton] Ryerson in [German?], 23 [?] 1845, 1 p.

Commission for the Rev. Egerton Ryerson to be Chief Superintendent of Common Schools for Upper Canada, 27 July 1850.

Three letters from Lord Stanley granting Egerton Ryerson safe passage through Europe as Ryerson undertakes a tour of inspection of the schools there, Dec. 1866, 4 p.

Partial letter from unknown correspondent regarding writing letters of introduction for Egerton Ryerson to travel throughout the British Isles learning about the educational systems there, illegible date, 3 p.

Letter from Lord Dufferin to Stanley, the Dean of Westminster, introducing Egerton Ryerson, 25 Oct. 1876, 2 p.

Letter from the Earl of Dufferin to Lord Carnarvon introducing Egerton Ryerson, 25 Oct. 1876, 2 p.

Letter from Lord Dufferin to [Egerton] Ryerson thanking Ryerson for the two volumes of his book which he had sent to Lord Dufferin, 6 Sept. 1880, 3 p.

Resolution of the Toronto Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada in Memorial for the Rev. Egerton Ryerson upon Ryerson's death, undated.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, K 63, Commission of National Education: Extracts from Minutes from meetings of the Commissioners of National Education, Ireland, from 1831 to 1870, regarding beginnings of the state system of education in Canada, 1841-1851, 4 p.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 26, B 5, Hon. Alexander Mackenzie Collection, V. 14:

Geo[rge] Brown, Legislature, to Alex[ander] Mackenzie, Reform Committee, asking him to circulate petitions among many districts, and speaking against the division of the Clergy Reserves among the religious sects in Canada West, 4 Sept. 1852, 1-2.

E[gerton] Ryerson to A[lexander] Mackenzie regarding recent report on schools and creation of additional normal schools in the province, 9 Dec. 1871, 194-195.

E[gerton] Ryerson to A[lexander] Mackenzie stating that he will confer with Mackenzie on the creation of additional normal schools in a few weeks time, 19 Oct. 1872, 247-248.

E[gerton] Ryerson to A[lexander] Mackenzie regarding the letters between Ryerson, as Superintendent of Public Instruction, and members of the Legislative Assembly being laid before a legislative commission to ascertain their appropriateness as concerns Ryerson suggesting appointees for political positions in the Education Department, [March?] 1875, 259-262.

Unknown correspondent to A[lexander] Mackenzie regarding avoiding a controversy with Egerton Ryerson, undated, 292-293.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 29, D38, Grant Papers, V. 2:

Letter from Solicitor James MacLennan to Rev. Principal Grant of Ottawa regarding provincial jurisdiction for a university in Upper Canada, 18 Mar. 1882, no. 1442-1577, 1542-1545.

Questions addressed by A. P. Knight and answered by Dr. E. Grant regarding Kingston College institution, 25 Jan. 1879, no. 809-973, 824-826.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 29, D 107:

Reminiscences of a young man who became one of the first in Upper Canada to study at a Normal School for teachers. He subsequently became a school teacher in Upper Canada. Undated, 10-21.

Public Archives of Canada, MG 31, D 57, Agriculture in Ontario Notes:

George Reaman, Excerpt from a history of education in Upper Canada, typed, undated, 60-61.

Public Archives of Canada, RG 1, E 1, "Schools-Upper Canada":

State Book I, V. 53:

[Second copy--see RG 1, E 3, V. 82] Recommendation of Lt. Governor [Major John Colborne] that Upper Canada College be endowed by dividing the Township of Seymour into lots of 200 acres, half of the lots to be used for the college and half to be sold, and that all the townships set apart for schools be divided and exchanged in the same manner, 17 Nov. 1830, 423-424.

Statement by Lt. Governor J[ohn] Colborne to the Executive Council, suggesting 66,000 acres to be sold as endowment for Upper Canada College and Royal Grammar School, 7 Apr. 1831, 496-497.

Report by Executive Council to Lt. Governor John Colborne, stating that the lands recommended by Colborne to be sold to endow Upper Canada College amount to less than 66,000 acres and suggesting additional land to be sold to make up the deficiency. Council also recommends that endowment be conveyed to special trusts within King's College, 22 Apr. 1831, 500-502.

Lt. Governor J[ohn] Colborne to Executive Council informing them of a report circulating through the province which makes it appear as though several districts were deprived of their share of the royal grants for the purpose of establishing grammar schools, 25 Apr. 1831, 503-504.

[Second copy--see RG 1, E 3, V. 82] Report of the Executive Council, signed J[ames] Baby, regarding the Lt. Governor's recommendation that the district schools should be endowed with land, 29 Apr. 1831, 507-514.

State Book J, V. 54:

Executive Council to Lt. Governor John Colborne requesting that 20,000 of the 66,000 acres set aside as an endowment for Upper Canada College be placed in trust at King's College to defray the latter institution's expenses in advancing the money for the erection of Upper Canada College, 15 Jan. 1832, 26-27.

Public Archives of Canada, RG 1, E 3, "Education: Upper Canada":

V. 16:

Letter from George Hamilton, Chairman of the Board of Education, Ottawa District, to John Joseph, Civil Secretary, Toronto, requesting that legal proceedings compel Donald McDonald, Treasurer, Ottawa District, to account for the school funds for 1834, 19 Apr. 1836, 201.

Letter from Hamilton to Joseph explaining that the other school board member was away from Ottawa and could not sign the petition of 12 Apr., 31 May 1836, 203.

Cover for letters from Hamilton to Joseph dated 12 Apr. and 31 May. Contains order by Council for Crown Officers to take measures against McDonald for misappropriation of school monies, 30 June 1836, 202.

V. 32:

Extract of letter from Major Graham to D. V. Smith complaining that some schoolmasters in Upper Canada teach republican ideals, 29 Mar. 1802, 21-22.

Rob[er]t D. Gray, Prospectus regarding land to raise money for schools and teachers, 10 Nov. 1798, 45-49.

V. 33:

Gore District petition for funds of 1000 pounds to build school building submitted to George Arthur, Lt. Governor of Upper Canada, undated, 168.

V. 43:

Letter from W[illia]m H. Draper, Solicitor General's Office, to W. H. Lee, Actg. Cl[er]k, Executive Council, regarding the legality of an investment of school dollars in provincial debentures, with several enclosures regarding question, 21 July 1840, 139-157.

V. 49:

Letter from George H. Markland, Secretary to the Board of Education, to Edward McMahon, Office of the Lt. Governor, requesting that patents issued for the sale of land set aside for education be free of fees, with several enclosures regarding request, 31 Oct. 1831, 6-19.

V. 59 B:

Petition of Board of Education of Ottawa District signed by George Hamilton, et al., to Sir Francis Bond Head, Lt. Governor, requesting money due to common schools for the years 1834, 1835 and 1836, 31 May 1836, 70-72.

Cover for petition from Ottawa District to Head dated 31 May 1836. Contains Minutes of [Executive] Council to [Head] stating that there is no fund out of which the petitioned school monies can derive constitutionally, 30 June 1836, 73.

V. 60 A.:

Letter from Peter Russell to Chief Justice Elmsley regarding a report by a committee under the Duke of Portland about schools, 12 Nov. 1798, 40-41.

V. 76:

Letter from W[illia]m Draper, Solicitor General's Office, to S. B. Harrison regarding the legality of granting money from a fund for "school purposes" for the construction of schools in Brock District, with note by James Hopkish dated 5 Aug. 1840, that matter is to be referred to Executive Council, 27 July 1840, 144-147.

Letter from R. Biddell, Chairman, Board of Education, Brock District, to S. B. Harrison, Secretary to the Lt. Governor, regarding legal question of school monies, with cover dated 13 Aug. 1840, stating that the money should be granted, 20 July 1840, 148-149.

V. 78:

Extract of a letter regarding school funds raised from Crown lands. Correspondents unknown, 1800, 77.

Draft of answers by Aeneas Shaw to unknown correspondent regarding amount of land needed to raise sufficient funds for schools throughout Upper Canada, 12 Nov. 1798, 100.

V. 80:

Proposal by Lt. Governor [Peregrine Maitland] to the Executive Council for the establishment of national schools in province similar to those in England, 17 Aug. 1820, 79-80.

Report from Executive Council to Lt. Governor Peregrine Maitland agreeing with Maitland's proposal for national schools in Upper Canada and suggesting that they be appendages of a university to be established first, 18 Aug. 1820, 81-83.

Recommendation by the Executive Council that monies requested by Central School for schoolhouse and teacher be paid, with nearly illegible request and report from Central School, 21 May 1821, 103-108.

Recommendation by the Executive Council that the Rev. Doctor Strachan be paid 160 pounds by the Home District [York] for expenses incurred while erecting a school building from funds to be raised by selling off a portion of school lands in York, with rough draft of recommendation, meeting notes of Trustees of Home District documenting that the district had insufficient funds to pay Strachan, and cover dated 21 July 1821, 3 Aug. 1821, 117-120 A.

Letter from Trustees of Central School to Executive Council regarding scale of allowances, with council notes dated 8 Jan. 1823, 7 Jan. 182[3], 125-128.



Letter of dismissal from Trustees of Eastern District School, including Neil McLean, et al., to Teacher Henry James, with two letters negating charges by James that the trustees insulted him during the meeting held for his dismissal, and three letters from parents stating that James had neither the disciplinary system nor the energy required to keep adequate control of children in a classroom, 1 Nov. 1822, 130, 131, 134, 143, 145, and 156.

Letter from Joseph Spragg to Major Hillier regarding contingent charges made for Central School, with cover letter from Hillier to James [Daly], Inspector General, dated 27 Dec. 1824, and Executive Council notes dated 5 Jan. 1825, regarding same, 21 Dec. 1824, 249-251.

V. 81:

Letter from [Major] Hillier to Executive Council regarding sale of reserved lots in Township of York for erection of Royal Grammar School, with Public Notice by John Amish dated 18 Jan. 1826 for sale of lands; Letter from Hillier to the Chief Justice dated 20 Dec. 1825 ordering the latter to put the land up for sale; Executive Council notes dated 23 Nov. 1825 signed by W[illia]m Campbell supporting the Lt. Governor's request for the sale of land, and cover for Hillier's letter to the council with a note by Tho[ma]s Ridout, Surveyor General, dated 21 Nov. 1825 supplying a description of the lots to be sold, 16 Nov. 1825, 11-19.

V. 81 B:

Executive Council notes regarding how patents to purchase school lands will be purchased since the board of education has been dissolved, 25 July 1833, 198-199.

V. 82:

Letters from Boards of Trustees of Ottawa, Western, Niagara, London and Midland (Kingston) Districts to Edw[ar]d McMahon, Acting Secretary to the Lt. Governor, with responses to the Lt. Governor's suggestions to alter land reserves to increase the school endowment, and to create a general board of education to include some members of each of the district boards, June-Aug. 1831, Ottawa, 1-4, 38-39; Western, 5-8; Niagara, 9-11; London, 12-17; and Midland, 18-21, 35-37.

Memorial from Midland District to the Lt. Governor requesting sufficient funds to erect and maintain a school house and quarters for a master and pupils. Memorial contains arguments regarding the disbursement of the school funds favoring the grammar schools over the universities, and favoring equal apportionment among the district schools, June 1831, 22-34.



- Recommendation of Lt. Governor [Sir James Kempt or Major John Colborne?] that a "Common, or Township School should be established in every Township, and endowed," and that the provincial government should control the appointment of masters, May 1830, 109-111.
- Report from the Lt. Governor regarding past provincial governments' laws and recommendations regarding education in Upper Canada, with the purpose of showing that the Executive Government is authorized to sanction the endowment of schools, and to recommend that Central Township schools should be formed and endowed, and that no master should be employed unless he can teach Latin and mathematics, 28 May 1830, 118-125.
- Letter from Sir George Murray to Lt. Governor John Colborne regarding opening of a seminary at York [Upper Canada College?], with extract of a letter dated 27 Apr. 1830 from Murray to Lt. Governor Sir James Kempt regarding the establishment of a non-sectarian seminary at Montreal, 25 June 1830, 83-88.
- Recommendation of Lt. Governor [Major John Colborne] that Upper Canada College be endowed by dividing the Township of [Seymour?] into lots of 200 acres, half of the lots to be used for the college and half to be sold, and that all the townships set apart for schools be divided and exchanged in the same manner, 17 Nov. 1830, 76-79.
- Letter from the Executive Council, John Beverley Robinsin, et al., to Lt. Governor Major John Colborne agreeing with his recommendations and proposing to solicit suggestions from the board of education for compliance with the exchange of school lands, 17 Nov. 1830, 80-82.
- Detailed recommendations of Lt. Governor [Major John Colborne] regarding the endowment of land for district schools in response to a report dated 25 Apr. 1831, regarding same submitted by the Executive Council, 29 Apr. 1831, 112-114.
- Report of the Executive Council, signed J[ames] Baby, regarding the Lt. Governor's recommendation that the district schools should be endowed with land, with three versions, 29 Apr. 1831, 89-108.
- Recommendation of Lt. Governor [Major John Colborne] that school lands not yet sold be exchanged for lands of higher value, with cover ordering same, 30 May 1831, 115-117.
- Memorandum regarding appointment of a new trustee of school lots, with extract from an order in [Executive] Council dated 9 June 1818 giving provision for appointment of trusteeship upon death or resignation of a trustee, Feb.-May 1833, 152-154.
- Minute in [Executive] Council, signed by John Strachan, regarding the issue of patents to purchasers of school lands due to the dissolution of the board of education, 25 July 1833, 158-159.

V. 83:

Memorial petition from residents to Lt. Governor Sir Francis Bond Head requesting aid in building a school house and teacher's residence in Springfield, Township of Toronto Indian Reserve, with cover dated 17 Jan. 1837, stating that the [Executive] Council does not recommend the petition because no fund exists for it, 26 June 1836, 193-196.

V. 84:

Letter from Jos[eph] Spragg to John Macauley requesting payment of contingent expenses of Central School, with copy of Executive Council Minutes dated 8 Jan. 1823 in which allowance for contingent expenses for Central School was established, and with note on cover dated 9 Nov. 1838 in which council recommends to the Lt. Governor not to exceed payment outlined in the council Minute of 1823, 24 Oct. 1838, 222-225.

V. 85:

Two letters from Jos[eph] Spragg, School Master, Central School, to Lt. Governor John Macauley requesting his intervention with the Executive Council for the payment of contingent expenses of Central School for the years 1836 and 1837, with covers containing notes from the Executive Council recommending against said payment, 20 Nov. 1838, and 26 Jan. 1839, 6-8, and 82-85.

Petition of Peter McArthur, et al., Toronto inhabitants, to Lt. Governor Sir John Colborne for an improved teaching system with additional branches of education for Central School, 10 Nov. 1835, 33-34.

Report, signed by J. T. Wilson, of the state of Central School with recommendations for its improvement, with cover letter dated 11 Dec. 1835 from W[illiam] Rowan to the Archdeacon of York [John Strachan], 24 Nov. 1835, 35-43.

Extract of recommendations, signed by George Ridout and D. Macauley, for regulating Central School, 23 Dec. 1835, 45-47.

Petition of Joseph Spragge, Master of Central School, to Lt. Governor Sir George Arthur for reimbursement of expenses paid by him for Central School, 24 Sept. 1838, 60-64.

Memorial of John T. Wilson, Second Master, Central School, to Lt. Governor Sir George Arthur requesting an increase of salary, with report of Central School dated 31 July 1838, by Jos[eph] Spragg, 27 Sept. 1838, 29-32 and 48.

Letter from John Strachan, Archdeacon [of York], to Lt. Governor John Macauley regarding petitions of John T. Wilson and Joseph Spragg to Lt. Governor Sir George Arthur, 7 Dec. 1838, 57-59.

Petition of Arthur Martin to Lt. Governor Sir George Arthur requesting payment for wood sold to Central School in 1837, 17 Dec. 1838, 55-56.

Report of the Executive Council, signed [Robert Baldwin?] Sullivan, to Lt. Governor Sir George Arthur regarding petitions of Joseph Spragg and John T. Wilson, 11 Jan. 1839, 49-54.

Bill from the House of Assembly "For the establishment and Regulation of Common Schools," with letter dated 7 Feb. 1839 from W. Macauley to W[illia]m H. Lee, Acting Clerk, E[xecutive] Council, directing council to advise Lt. Governor about bill, undated, 89-94.

V. 92:

Letter from [?] White, Attorney General, to "The President" regarding use of Crown lands for school reserves, 15 Nov. 179[8], 26-27.

V. 96:

Letter from Jos. Wells, former Treasurer to the General Board of Education, to John Joseph, Civil Secretary, regarding statement of financial circumstances of Central School, 2 Apr. 1836, 109-111.

Letter from George M. Markland, Inspector General, to J[ohn] Joseph stating that the public's funds for education have been "placed at the disposal" of the two branches of the Legislature, 12 Apr. 1836, 107-108.

Petition of John T. Wilson to Lt. Governor Sir Francis Bond Head for an increase of salary which had been approved by the former Lt. Governor, John Colborne, with cover containing [nearly illegible] notes from the [Executive] Council stating that it "cannot recommend anything on this subject matter," 19 May 1836, 113-116.

Letter from Jos[eph] Spragg to Archdeacon [John] Strachan requesting improvements in the buildings of Central School for the purpose of Winter heating, 4 Nov. 1835, 140.

[Second copy--see V. 85] Petition of Peter McArthur, et al., Toronto inhabitants, to Lt. Governor Sir John Colborne for an improved teaching system with additional branches of education for Central School, [10] Nov. 1835, 131-132.

[Second copy--see V. 85] Report, signed by J. T. Wilson, of the state of Central School with recommendations for its improvement, with cover letter dated 11 Dec. 1835, from W[illia]m Rowan to the Archdeacon of York [John Strachan], 24 Nov. 1835, 117-118, 133-139.

Letter from Jos[eph] Spragg to Archdeacon [John] Strachan regarding moving students from the first to the second department at Central School, 5 Dec. 1835, 141-142.

[For extract of these documents, see V. 85] Several copies of recommendations, signed by George Ridout and D. Macauley, for regulating Central School, 23 Dec. 1835, 119-127.

Letter from J[ohn] T. Wilson to [John] Joseph regarding nonpayment of his salary as second master of Central School, 31 May 1836, 143-145.

Memorial of John T. Wilson to Lt. Governor Sir Francis Bond Head requesting aid in receipt of his salary which was unpaid for one-half year, with cover containing several notes and references by the Executive Council, including minutes from 22 July 1836, recommending to the Lt. Governor that the salary be paid, 20 July 1836, 128-130.

Public Archives of Canada, RG 1, E 15 C:

Report on Expenditures Ex. Council, 1842-47, V. 1:

Reports of contingent expenses by various school officials and recommendations by the Executive Council as to whether or not to pay same, 1842-1847, 51, 55, 152, and 391.

Commissioner of Crown Lands, V. 4:

School Lands in Account Current with the Commissioner of Crown Lands from 1st January to 30th June 1844, 2 p.

School Lands in Account Current with the Commissioner of Crown Lands for 6 months ending 31 Dec. 1844, 1 p.

Commissioner of Crown Lands, V. 5:

School Lands in Account Current with the Commissioner of Crown Lands from 1st January to 30th June 1845, 4 p.

School Lands in Account Current with the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the 6 months to 31 Dec. 1845, 2 p.

Commissioner of Crown Lands, V. 6:

"Statement of Instalments [sic] received on account of School Lands for the 1/2 year ending 31st December 1848," 3 p.

Warrant Book Expenditures, V. 8-9:

Salaries for education personnel, 31 Dec. 1845, 1 p.

Salaries for education personnel, 12 Jan. 1846, 2 p.

Salaries for education personnel, 16 Jan. 1846, 1 p.

Salaries for education personnel, 17 Jan. 1846, 1 p.

Education expenses, 22 Jan. 1846, 2 p.

Salaries for education personnel, 5 Feb. 1846, 1 p.

Amount raised by inhabitants of London District for schools,  
7 Mar. 1846, 1 p.

Salaries for education personnel, 31 Mar. 1846, 2 p.

Education expenses, 9 Apr. 1846, 1 p.

Education expenses, 18 Apr. 1846, 1 p.

Salaries for education personnel, 28 Apr. 1846, 1 p.

Salaries for education personnel, 27 June 1846, 1 p.

Public Archives of Canada, RG 5, B 11:

Grammar Schools, 1839-1841, V. 6:

- Recommendation for one comprehensive elementary school system including district, grammar and common schools, c. 1839, 6 p.
- Letter from unknown correspondent to Inspector General of Schools, J. McAuley, Toronto, requesting that monies owed for teachers' salaries in the Eastern District be paid, 29 Jan. 1840, 3 p.
- Regulations of the district grammar schools, 1841, 1-3.
- Lt. Governor Sir Richard Downes Jackson to John Henry Dunn, Receiver General, Province of Canada, order for monies to be paid to Joseph Spragg for the expenditures of the Central School of Toronto, 27 Sept. 1841, 1 p.
- Letter from L. W. Harrison to R. A. [Encker?] regarding appointment of the Board of Education for the Home District, Toronto, 1 Oct. 1840, 1 p.
- Report of the Committee of Education including the past and present state of education in Upper Canada, the state of the school funds, the constitution and revenue of King's College, and a plan for the diffusion of education, 22 Jan. 1840, 15 p.
- Rob[er]t Stanton, Account of receipts for school books furnished by the board of education for fourteen Upper Canadian school districts for 1839 and 1840, 23 June 1841, 2 p.
- Talbot District accounts for teachers, 27 July 1841, 4 p.
- W[illiam] McAuley to Joseph Spragg, regarding incidental expenses for Central School from July to December 1840, 5 Feb. 1841, 2 p.
- Report of the Common Schools, London District, 1838, 3 p.
- "Report of District Schools shewing the number of pupils in each Schools [sic] and the subjects taught," 1838, 2 p.
- "Report of Common Schools...", 1838, 3 p.

Grammar Schools, 1843, V. 7:

- Commissions for boards of trustees in the Newcastle, Simcoe and Home Districts, 29 July - 7 Sept. 1843, 5 p.
- List of school commissioners for Toronto, Kingston, Belleville, London, Cornwall, Hamilton, Cobourg, Brockville and Picton, [1843], 2 p.
- Governor Charles T. Metcalfe, appointment of Board of Examiners for Kingston, Midland District, 20 May 1843, 2 p.
- Johnstown District Common Schools, Treasurer's Account for 1842, 2 Mar. 1843, 6 p.

Grammar Schools, 1841-1850, Vs. 7-8:

- Excerpt from memorandum regarding appointment of assistant commissioner for the Midland District, 4 Feb. 1846, 2 p.
- Memorandum regarding Associate Board of Trustees for Western District, 16 Oct. 1846, 2 p.
- Appointment of Rev. J. Cruckshaw as member of Board of Trustees for Niagara Schools, 8 Jan. 1846, 2 p.

Appointment of Rev. William Bain as member of Board of Trustees for Bathurst District, 5 Jan. 1846, 2 p.

Appointment of new Board of Trustees for Brock District, 11 July 1845, 2 p.

Appointment of Board of Trustees for Dalhousie District, 14 Mar. 1845, 5 p.

Appointment of Board of Trustees for Western District, and rectification of error made in naming Alexander Charter, 15 Feb. 1845, 2 p.

Appointment of Board of Trustees for Wellington District, 6 Jan. 1845, 2 p.

"Schedule of the proposed appropriation to each county, or Union of Counties of the Upper Canada Grammar School Land Fund for the year 1850," 7 Sept. 1850, 1 p.

Excerpt from the Abstract Return of Common Schools in Talbot District, Nov. 1841, 1 p.

"A List of the Trustees of the Public School for the District of Johnstown, & the Board of Education," undated, 1 p.

Teacher's certificate for Rev. M. H. Williamson, Peterboro Grammar School, 1 Jan. 1841, 2 p.

Public Archives of Canada, RG 5, B34, Schools, 1818-1840, V. 16:

District of Ottawa Board of Education meeting regarding school payments, 2 Jan. 1821, 1 p.

Benj[amin] Warren, Teacher Certificate, Johnstown District Common School, 10 Mar. 1832, 1 p.

Second Quarterly Report, Yonges Township, Johnstown District, with covers, 30 Apr. 1832, 3 p.

Common schools teachers salaries for 1839, Talbot District, 7 Aug. 1840, 2 p.

Public Archives of Canada, RG 7, G 16 C, Civil Secretary's Letter Books, Entries recorded for Civil Secretaries outgoing correspondence, Upper Canada, 1836-1841:

V. 37:

J. Joseph, Secretary to the Lt. Governor, to Col. Mackenzie, President of the Bath School Society, refusing a petition from Bath School Society for an annual sum in aid of the school because the provincial Parliament will be considering a bill for general education in its next session, 24 Nov. 1836, 219.

V. 39:

J. Joseph to Tho[ma]s Taylor, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Gore School District, Hamilton, informing Taylor of three men whom the Lt. Governor has appointed as additional trustees for Gore District, with letters to the men appointed, Rev. Arthur Palmer, Guelph; Rev. Gamble Geddes, Hamilton; and Dr. H. Cragie, Oucaster[?], informing them of their appointments, all dated 30 Dec. 1836, 63.

J. Joseph to Joseph Spragge, Master of Central School, Toronto, acknowledging receipt of Spragge's school report for the Lt. Governor, 31 Dec. 1836, 64.

V. 52:

J. Macaulay to Dr. Strachan, President of King's College, requesting that he submit to council committee an enclosed copy of a letter from Major Phillpotts, dated 30 Apr. 1839, regarding establishing a uniform tuition system among the province's several schools, 1 May 1839, 172.

V. 53:

J. Macaulay to Dr. Strachan requesting that he consult the members of the Board of King's College to provide aid for the establishment of a medical school in Upper Canada so that physicians no longer need study in foreign countries where they acquire "political principles inimical to the existing constitution...", 24 May 1839, 35-36.

V. 54:

S. B. Harrison to Rev. R. Usher, Brandford, asking him if a grammar school was established in Brandford, would the residents erect a school house at their expense and furnish the school with a minimum of 60 scholars as the latest statute on education requires; and S. B. Harrison to A. Jones, Prescott, stating that the Lt. Governor is considering Prescott's request for a grant for the erection of a grammar school, both dated 13 July [1839], 9-10.

S. B. Harrison to Trustees of Gore District School, cover letter for reply from Attorney General to Gore District regarding its comments on a recent act of the Legislature regarding education, 10 Aug. 1839, 84.

S. B. Harrison to Rev. H. Grassett requesting permission to recommend Grassett for a proposed commission of inquiry regarding education in Upper Canada, 23 Aug. 1839, 106.

S. B. Harrison to Rev. R. Hood, Caradoc, stating that the Lt. Governor will advocate Hood's proposal for an educational system for the Indian children if he is able, 9 Sept. 1839, 140.

S. B. Harrison to G. [?] Stuart, Kingston, stating that the Lt. Governor cannot appoint Rev. R. V. Rogers as Master of Midland District School because he has already been appointed Chaplain of the Provincial Penitentiary, 21 Oct. 1839, 214.

S. B. Harrison to John Rae, Hamilton, requesting suggestions for a provincial plan of education, 23 Oct. 1839, 221-222.



S. B. Harrison to D. Boys--d--, King's College, cover for Memorial from Gore District School asking for assistance in remunerating an assistant master at that school; and S. B. Harrison to Jas. Crooks and the Trustees of Gore District School acknowledging receipt of their Memorial and informing them that he forwarded the document to "the Council of King's College, under whose control the funds appropriated for the purposes of education are placed." Both dated 16 Jan. 1840, 370-371.

S. B. Harrison to Alvira H. Blake, Picton, acknowledging receipt of Memorials to Sir George Arthur, and stating that those documents, a report of the board of education, and the Attorney General's opinion regarding allowances provided by law for common schools are being forwarded to the Executive Council, 25 Jan. 1840, 380-381.

V. 55:

J. W. C. Murdock to Gerald Alley acknowledging receipt of a letter and address from the Township of Orillia to the Governor General regarding, in part, "the necessity of religious and moral education for the rising generation" in Upper Canada, but stating that the province's present financial state renders it impossible to obtain funds for this purpose from the provincial revenues, 8 Feb. 1840, 136-137.

J. W. C. Murdock to Board of Trustees of Midland District School, Kingston, requesting explanation for the circumstances surrounding the dismissal of George Baxter as Master of their school, 8 Feb. 1840, 137-138.

V. 58:

S. B. Harrison to Rev. J. H. McDonough, Perth, relating regrets of the Lt. Governor that McDonough cannot take up appointment on Board of Education, Bathurst District, because the number of board members is complete by law, 25 Aug. 1840, 23.

James Hopkins to Trustees of Guelph Grammar School acknowledging receipt by Lt. Governor of nominations for Rev. A. Palmer as Master of Guelph Grammar School, and Dr. W[illia]m Clarke as a member of the Board of Trustees for Guelph Grammar School, 26 Aug. 1840, 23.

James Hopkins to W[illia]m Clarke, Guelph, acknowledging receipt of recommendations from Guelph residents for Rev. A. Palmer as Master of Guelph Grammar School, 26 Aug. 1840, 24.

James Hopkins to Rev. A. Palmer acknowledging receipt of Palmer's resignation as member of Board of Trustees for Guelph Grammar School, and requesting that Palmer continue as member of Board of Education for Wellington District; and accepting Palmer's resignation as Trustee for Gore District Grammar School, 25 Aug. 1840, 24.



**M. Teresa Baer**  
5005 South High School Road  
Indianapolis, Indiana 46221  
(317) 856-3611

**Education:**

Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis (IUPUI):  
M. A., Comparative History: Canada, Great Britain and United States, 1998  
B. A., History, with highest distinction, 1994  
International Studies Certificate, Comparative Systems, 1994  
Concentrations in Political Science, Religious Studies, Economics and French  
A. A., Arts and Humanities, with honors, 1992

**Honors:**

IUPUI History Department Internship, 1996-1997  
Educational Enhancement Grant, 1996  
IUPUI Graduate Student Grant-In-Aid of Research, 1996  
IUPUI History Department Teaching Assistantship, 1995-1996  
IUPUI University Fellowship, 1994-1995  
Support Undergraduate Meeting Attendance Grant, 1994  
Cavanaugh Award (IUPUI School of Liberal Arts), 1994  
IUPUI History Department Award, 1994  
Thelander Award (best historical writing), 1994  
Student Undergraduate Meeting Award, 1994  
Student Undergraduate Research Grant, 1993  
Chancellor's Honor Scholar, 1993  
Upper Class Outstanding Scholarship, 1992-1994  
Alpha Sigma Lambda Honor Society, 1992-1994

**Other Related Activities:**

Member, Search Committee for British Historian, IUPUI History Department, 1996-1997  
Secretary, History Graduate Student Association, 1995-1996  
Judge, History Day, Indianapolis District, 1995  
Representative, School of Liberal Arts Student Council, 1993-1994  
Secretary, Alpha Sigma Lambda Honor Society, 1992-1994  
Volunteer Student Mentor for International Students, 1991-1993  
Vice President, New Student Orientation Club, 1991-1992  
Representative, Undergraduate Student Assembly, 1991-1992  
Co-Chair, Aids Awareness Committee, 1991-1992

### **Publications:**

"Historic Bridge Workshop." *Preserving Indiana*. Indianapolis: Department of Natural Resources, Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology (DNR, DHPA), Forthcoming Summer/Fall 1998.

"Historic Bridge Survey Update." *Preserving Indiana*. Indianapolis: DNR, DHPA, Forthcoming Summer/Fall 1998.

"Bridge Survey: An Historic Profile Emerging." *Preserving Indiana*. Indianapolis: DNR, DHPA, Winter/Spring 1998, 8.

"National Register Listings (since 1-1-97)." *Preserving Indiana*. Indianapolis: DNR, DHPA, Summer 1997, 4-5.

"Charting the Missionary Work of William E. McLellin: A Content Analysis." *The Journals of William E. McLellin, 1831-1836*. Jan Shipps and John W. Welch, eds. Provo, UT and Urbana, IL: *BYU Studies* and University of Illinois Press, 1994. Winner, Steven F. Christensen Best Documentary Award from the Mormon Historical Association, and the John Whitmer Historical Association Award.

### **Presentations:**

"Preserving Indiana's Transportation Heritage: An Overview of the State's Historic Bridge Inventory Project." Indianapolis: 15th Annual SIA (Society for Industrial Architects) Historic Bridge Symposium, 6 June 1998.

Chair. "Teaching Careers in History." Indianapolis: IUPUI Department of History Annual Careers in History Conference, 10 October 1997.

Panelist. "The Graduate Experience." Indianapolis: IUPUI Department of History Annual Careers in History Conference, 10 October 1997.

"Charting the Missionary Work of William E. McLellin." Session 11, The William E. McLellin Journals. Park City, UT: Mormon History Association Annual Conference, 20 May 1994.

"Charting the Missionary Work of William E. McLellin." Poster Projects for Indiana University and IUPUI board meetings, in affiliation with the IUPUI Honors Department, Fall 1993 and Spring 1994.

"Conducting Training for Student-Led Programs: IUPUI Orientation, An Example." IUPUI Student Leadership Conference for the Office of Multicultural Affairs, 9-10 October 1992.

**Research:****M. A. THESIS:**

"Education and the Perception of Equality: Defining Equality Through the Establishment of Public School Systems in Indiana and Ontario, 1787-1852," Aug. 1998.

**GRADUATE PAPERS:**

"Defining 'equality' in ante-bellum America: An analysis of the education debates at the 1850-51 Indiana State Constitution Convention," Nov. 1995 (History).

"Debate on the American Frontier: An Analysis of the Worldviews of Alexander Campbell and Robert Owen in April 1829," Dec. 1994 (Religious Studies).

"Dilthey and Geertz: The Beginning of Knowledge," Dec. 1994 (History).

**UNDERGRADUATE PAPERS:**

"Peasant Resistance in Asia and Russia: A Modern-Day and Historical Synthesis of a Cross-Disciplinary Issue," May 1994 (Anthropology).

"The Struggle for Equality in Islamic Lands: A Discussion of Human Rights," Apr. 1994 (Religious Studies).

"One-Hundred Years in Asia: Chinese-American Relations in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," Apr. 1994 (History).

"Martin and Malcolm: Worldviews on the Black Struggle for Human Rights," Mar. 1994 (Religious Studies), (Winner, Thelander Award for best historical writing, 1994).

"The Development of Normandy: Twentieth Century Scholarship in the English Language," Apr. 1993 (History).

"Legacy from the Rhineland: Nineteenth Century Migration from the Rhineland Valley to the Ohio River Valley," Dec. 1992 (History, Honors).

"Poland and Czechoslovakia: Lessons in History," Dec. 1992 (History, Honors).

"The Flood and the Antediluvian King Lists," Dec. 1991 (Religious Studies, Honors).

"Factors for Peace in the Middle East: An Annotated Bibliography," Apr. 1991 (Political Science).

"What Started that American Feud, Anyhow? An 1856 Letter from Michael C. Kerr to William H. English," Nov. 1982 (History, Honors).

"The Devil's Washboard of Crawford County: An Oral History," Dec. 1981 (Folklore).

**Organizational Affiliation:**

Student Member, Organization of American Historians, 1998

Member, Indiana Historical Society, 1996-1998

Member, Nature Conservancy, 1996-1998

Student Member, American Historical Association, 1995

Member, Decatur Central High School Band Boosters, 1993-1997

Member, WFYI Channel 20, Indianapolis, 1992-1998

Member, National Geographic Society, 1990-1998

Member, Parent Teacher Organizations for St. Roch Catholic School and Decatur Township Schools, 1983-1997

## **Experience:**

June 1998-Present, Editorial Assistant, William Henry Harrison Papers, Indiana Historical Society, Publications Division. Supervisor, Douglas E. Clanin.

I copyedit and proofread transcriptions of documents from the William Henry Harrison Papers, 1812-1815, in preparation for the publication of rolls 7-10 of a microfilm edition. Others of my duties include: research, maintenance of a database created in ACCESS for a permission to publish file, reconciliation of paper files and the edition's "Table of Contents," and general editorial assistance in the publication process. The projected date of completion for this project is 1999. At that time, I will begin documentary editing of the Lew and Susan Wallace Papers.

August 1997-June 1998, Indiana State Historic Bridge Survey Coordinator, DNR, Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology (DHPA). Supervisor, Frank Hurdis.

I managed bridge survey material and project accounts using Claris Filemaker Pro 2.1, Microsoft Excel 5.0, Adobe Photo Shop LE, Corel Photo Paint 5.0, a Hewlett Packard Deskjet II Scanner, an Iomega Zip Drive, and the Internet. My responsibilities included limited research; data input; image scanning and enhancement; monthly project account reports; written and oral reports regarding the survey; coordination of contracts and meetings between the DHPA, the Indiana Department of Transportation, and the Bridge Survey Consultant; and attendance at historic preservation and bridge engineering meetings, DNR Geographic Information Systems (GIS) User Group meetings, and training sessions related to software and historic bridges. I also maintained Zip files for DHPA publications, the bridge database, and the database for nominations to the National Register of Historic Places. In addition, I proofread and helped to edit the *Indiana State Cultural Resources Management Plan*, rewrote and reorganized parts of it, and scanned and enhanced images for the plan for publication in March 1998.

Summer 1997, National Register Intern, DNR, Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology. Supervisor, Frank Hurdis.

As the National Register Intern, I was responsible for conducting technical reviews of incoming nominations for the State or National Register of Historic Places. I conducted research in DHPA files for public queries, and mailed packets of information to interested parties. I also attended the state's quarterly Review Board Meetings for the National Register in Anderson and West Baden, Indiana.

August 1996-May 1997, Intern, Lew and Susan Wallace Papers, Indiana Historical Society, Publications Division. Supervisor, Thomas A. Mason.

Using ACCESS software, I contributed to the preparation of an electronic finding aid for a microfilm edition of the Lew and Susan Wallace Papers by editing a database and the labels of the corresponding paper files of documents pertaining to the couple. I created a comprehensive style sheet for the database for subsequent interns. Also, I worked with the project editor to acquire documents new to the project, and to research grant opportunities by using the Internet. I managed Zip files for the database, as well.

Fall 1996, Research Assistant,  
Mississippi State University History Department. Supervisor, John F. Marszalek.

Dr. Marszalek was preparing a documentary film in three segments for the Discovery Channel regarding the social history of the War of 1812. He contracted me to conduct research for him at the Indiana Historical Society Library. I prepared a list of available materials, and photocopied primary documents which revealed how the events of 1811-1815 affected people in Indiana and the Old Northwest.

August 1995-May 1996, Teaching Assistant,  
IUPUI History Department. Supervisor, Bert Riesterer.

I taught four sections each of two global history classes, H108 (1500-1900 A. D.) and H109 (twentieth century). Following the Professor's syllabus, I lectured; led discussions; created, administered and graded essay and short answer exams, and other projects, including semester papers; and consulted one-on-one with students. I also provided technical support during Dr. Riesterer's lectures, including overhead, slide and computer projections.

Summers 1994 and 1995, Research Assistant,  
IUPUI History Department. Supervisor, Phyllis Valentine.

I created a class study guide for a televised course, H105 (American History I). The guide included detailed outlines for thirty-nine class sessions, references to the textbook for topics mentioned in each lecture, and related questions.

January 1993-October 1994, Research Assistant,  
IUPUI History and Religious Studies Departments. Supervisor, Jan Shipps.

My duties for the McLellin project included transcription of six early Mormon missionary journals, mapping missionary routes, researching biographical information for 220 non-Mormons mentioned in the journals, creating and using a database with dBase IV to analyze mission goals and audience responses, preparation of the chapter regarding the analysis, and proofreading all of these sections for publication.

May 1991-December 1992, Student Director/Student Leader, Orientation Services,  
IUPUI Office of Admissions, Orientation Services. Supervisor, Jack Rhodes;  
Coordinator/Volunteer, IUPUI Volunteer Student Mentors for International Students,  
Undergraduate Education Center, Student Mentoring Program. Supervisor,  
Tonya Conour.

Both Orientation Services and the Volunteer Student Mentors were new when I worked for them. I helped establish the programs by gathering instructional materials and coordinating training sessions with all university schools and service departments. I was also involved in hiring personnel, conducting tours and orientation sessions, and planning and participating in student campus programs as a speaker or panelist. During my tenure, I supervised up to ten people in each program. In addition, I mentored students from Taiwan, Japan and Vietnam.

March 1987-1990, Technical Writer/Editor,  
American Trans Air, Corporate Offices. Supervisor, Dick Meyer, Executive  
Vice President.

In-house publications which I helped to write and/or edit included training manuals for pilots and flight attendants, aircraft specifications manuals, the employee handbook, dBase spreadsheet reports for a company-wide jobs study for wage and salary justification, job descriptions, and the employee newsletter. I also inspected employee records to ensure accurate compensation. In addition, I created and conducted computer workshops regarding dBase III Plus.

1974-1987, Accounts Receivable, Piggyback Transportation Corporation and Modern Wa  
Soap Company; Contract Painter, Phoenix Painting Company; Supervisor, Herron  
Associates Market Research Company; Assistant Manager, Roselyn Bakery; Hostess,  
Dunkin Donuts.

During these years I graduated from high school, and married. My children were born, and I held positions which allowed me to participate as fully as possible in their upbringing. I learned a variety of useful skills at this time. Among these were customer service, office management and technology, employee supervision, record keeping, interviewing, research analysis, painting, wood finishing, and drywall and plaster repair. I also served as a Girl Scout Leader for five years during which time I co-conducted Brownie Spring Day Camp at Camp Dellwood in Indianapolis.

Related Activities and Honors, 1972-1974:

Reporter/Page Layout, *The Southside Challenger*, Greenwood, Indiana  
Page Editor/Reporter, Southport High School (SHS) bi-weekly paper, *The Journal*  
Section Editor/Writer and Business Director, SHS yearbook, *The Anchor*  
Co-Editor, *Southport High School Student Handbook*  
National Honor Society, 1974  
Quill and Scroll Award (youngest inductee), 1972

## **References:**

Frank Hurd  
Chief, Survey and Registration  
Division of Historic  
Preservation and Archaeology  
Room W274  
402 West Washington Street  
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204  
(317) 232-1646

Thomas A. Mason  
Director of Publications  
Indiana Historical Society  
315 West Ohio Street  
Indianapolis, Indiana 46202  
(317) 232-1882

Jan B. Shipp  
Professor Emeritus  
IUPUI History and Religious  
Studies Departments  
2249 North Mount Gilead Road  
Bloomington, Indiana 47408  
(812) 336-8244

Philip V. Scarpino  
Associate Professor and Chair,  
IUPUI History Department  
Cavanaugh Hall, Room 503R  
425 University Boulevard  
Indianapolis, Indiana 46202  
(317) 274-5840

Miriam Z. Langsam  
Associate Dean of Student Affairs,  
IUPUI School of Liberal Arts,  
Professor, IUPUI History  
Department  
Cavanaugh Hall, Room 401A  
425 University Boulevard  
Indianapolis, Indiana 46202  
(317) 274-3976

Mary A. Hays  
Training Coordinator  
Eli Lilly & Company  
Corporate Center  
307 East McCarty Street  
Indianapolis, Indiana 46225  
(317) 276-2000

Marianne S. Wokeck  
Director, Undergraduate Studies, Assistant  
Professor, IUPUI History Department  
Cavanaugh Hall, Room 503N  
425 University Boulevard  
Indianapolis, Indiana 46202  
(317) 274-5820

Berthold P. Riesterer  
Associate Professor  
IUPUI History Department  
Cavanaugh Hall, Room 503T  
425 University Boulevard  
Indianapolis, Indiana 46202  
(317) 274-7187

Elizabeth B. Monroe  
Director, Public History, Associate  
Professor, IUPUI History Department  
Cavanaugh Hall, Room 529  
425 University Boulevard  
Indianapolis, Indiana 46202  
(317) 278-2255

Rowland A. Sherrill  
Professor, IUPUI Religious Studies Department,  
Adjunct Professor, IUPUI American  
Studies Department  
Cavanaugh Hall, Room 335  
425 University Boulevard  
Indianapolis, Indiana 46202  
(317) 274-1465